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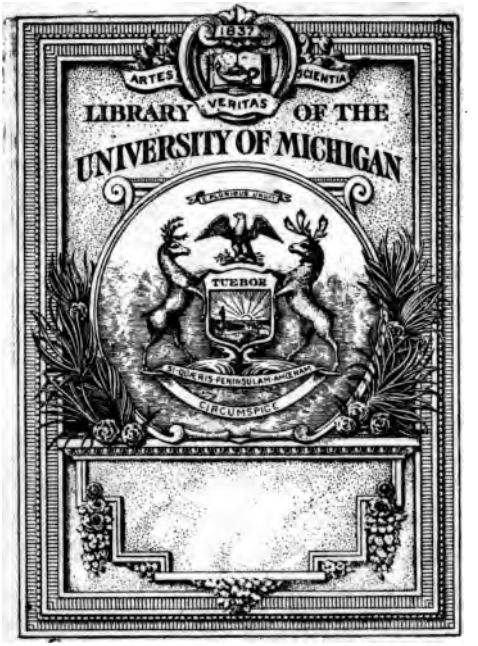
Bolshevism
Its Cure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BOLSHEVISM:
ITS CURE

BY
DAVID GOLDSTEIN
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468 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE
BOSTON, MASS.

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09 H20 E.S.

Dedicated

TO THE KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS

IN RECOGNITION OF ITS WORLD-FAMED WAR WORK

IN APPRECIATION OF ITS FAR-SIGHTED EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGN DEFENDING FAITH AND FATHERLAND AGAINST THE ASSAULT OF SOCIALISM

Reclama 5-12-28 W.V.P.

360891

INTRODUCTION

We were so early in the field combating International Socialism that it was a whole decade before the first edition of our book, *Socialism: The Nation of Fatherless Children* (1903), secured much of any notice, although it was highly commended by our then President Roosevelt, Samuel Gompers, His Eminence Cardinal O'Connell and other men vigorously interested in the relief of the masses as against the oppression of many masters of industry. Later editions were given a rather wide reading — 50,000 copies having been circulated.

After we entered the world-war we thought, perhaps, the movement to run up the red flag over every capitol in the world had spent its projective force. But the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Russia gave dire proof that its full fury had not until then broke loose in any nation and recalled to us an obligation to our country and our faith that could not in conscience be denied. In the days long gone, when we were neither Catholics nor reasoning rightly as to historic testimony, we were under that hallucination that sets many faces to look the wrong way for the right thing — equitable social relationships. At length, being forced to the understanding that Marxians hold a philosophy quite at variance with sound principles and to practises contrary to moral requirements we withdrew early in nineteen hundred from

the Socialist movement after a long and futile attempt to persuade the party to repudiate its socially disruptive doctrines.

Indeed it was not a blissful experience but it was wholesome at last to learn that the stability and peace of nations is based upon a recognition of what God intended the state to be, not upon any man-made scheme that departs from the Ten Commandments.

We have come to know that the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII — *The Condition of the Working Class* — written in 1891 gives the right direction to the efforts of those who would reconcile the two rival camps called capital and labor. To plant the Cross of Christ between the two armies is but the beginning of the work to save nations. So that we send forth — *Bolshevism: Its Cure* — in the hope that all those who love Old Glory better than the red flag will give heed to the essential difference between those who would work the will of the Marxian destroyers and those who would give to our own dearly beloved Columbia what is due to her under God.

A glance at our table of contents will reveal the structure of the book, that it is grounded upon truth, natural and revealed, thus setting up the standards by which to make correct judgments. The contents will show how vast a field is covered by this movement, generally known as Socialism, that in its latest phases is now called Bolshevism. Since Socialism is alleged to be a philosophy of life that takes its rise in a so-called scientific understanding of the economic relationships of man to man, it is our purpose to show the wide spreading activ-

ities of this movement that it may never take on in this country its final phase of red ruin as in Russia. Our expectation is that robust Americanism will call a halt to this force of destruction before it tramples law and order under foot. It is not surprising that the public mind has long been and still is in a state of confusion as to what Socialism-Bolshevism is, for its subject matter is truly too vast to be confined within a given sphere of social activity. Its meaning can be seen only by a synthetic view of things human for the simple reason that it contemplates a complete overthrowing of the Christian civilization that was builded upon the downfall of the Pagan authority of Greece and Rome. Once again, it would have a state where God is unknown; where human will is responsible only to human authority; where justice is *this* to-day and *that* to-morrow.

We begin by showing that the deep springs of its action lie in rebellion, in atheistic materialism; that its world force is drawn up in hostile array to Christian civilization; that its philosophy and its psychology vitiate every mind and every organization that gives it a sympathetic service, that within the four grand divisions of human society, namely, the domestic sphere, the social sphere, the political sphere and the economic sphere, no department escapes its mental and moral blight.

The two world powers of construction and destruction are placed in contrast one to the other and the opposing standards of Faith and Fatalism make it clear to logical minds that order as opposed to chaos rests upon

the belief in Almighty God and in obedience to His commands. We show that the structure of human society is sound and yet sounder in so far as right-reason is obeyed and man's love for man is made manifest, and that, society is sick and yet sicker in so far as it takes Socialist remedies, since reconstruction upon solid principles is not its object but rather the complete destruction of the private ownership of capital and the abolition of the wage system.

Having set down as philosophical opposites the Christian principles of moral responsibility as against the Socialist principles of irresponsibility, we pass to those of might as against right. Good and evil are affairs of the heart — one sound the other diseased — but might as against right is seen in the deeds of men. It is because irreligion is now so common as to supply a great and growing host of men who are subject to a still further undermining of their morale that upon the domain of Cæsar the Socialist-Bolsheviki can raise so great a tumult, here, there and everywhere. The perversity of their long time propaganda in undermining love and loyalty to our home-land is set forth at some length and brought up to date by citing their treasonable efforts during the world-war. We then pass on to the somewhat obscure struggle between those who stand for right as against wrong upon the broad field of education and artistic culture. Here, indeed, their most insidious efforts are greatly rewarded. Their atheist philosophy is leavening the whole lump of so-called free thought with a Pagan view of things human as relentless as it

is cruel. It is as truly a culture of sense perception as was that of degenerate Rome under the rule of Nero. When the facts are pointed out to them, we must assume that even those men and women who love God but little and their country much will take pause to consider that Godless education leads to an utter breakdown of patriotism and so to the necessary conclusion that once love of country is gone there is no binding force of loyalty in any land.

Having sketched their several modes of propagating their doctrine we come to the thing objectively — to Bolshevism itself; which term is only another name for Socialism in operation upon a national scale.

Here we show the so-called scientific tests by which to recognize the Socialist régime in Russia by its determination to overthrow the principles of just government; by denying the right of private property and by permitting only one class — the working class — to take part in its administration of affairs.

Coming back to sane and lofty deeds of faith in God and loyalty to country we make final pause, knowing we have done what we could for God and fatherland.

Well aware of the terrible indictment we bring against the Bolsheviki we have permitted them to convict themselves by the use of their own data, quoting only such authorities as may not with truth be denied a national and international leadership amongst them.

Here and there we have paid some little attention to a popular writer who, while preaching the selfsame philosophy that Lenin and Trotsky are practising, dis-

claims all responsibility, as Marxians, for the horrors of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia. It is our hope that such a one may come to see how ludicrously inconsistent such an attempt is in those who appeal to the principle of cause and effect for the facts in the case.

To our many friends throughout the country who have sent us kind acknowledgments of the usefulness of our book — *Socialism: The Nation of Fatherless Children* — we recommend *Bolshevism: Its Cure* as practically adapted to give information and argument to educators, editors, writers and speakers, a fair view of the dangers to our country of Bolshevism, and a strong indication that one must look the right way for the right thing — *Its Cure.*

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BOLSHEVISM: ITS CURE

I

TWO WORLD POWERS

THE members of the Catholic Church and its counterfeit organizations — Communism — Socialism — Bolshevism — are now coming to grips. Civilization may indeed be thrown back into chaos ere this evil association spends its force, but it is certain that so long as men shall live on earth the Church of Christ will be here to call sinners to repentance that they may spend their immortal life in Heaven. Of course, it is not sufficient for the support of civilization that citizens may merely know the action of these opposing forces but also, or rather, that there shall, at least, be found ten men to serve Cæsar for the love of God.

For half a century the world has been warned that life was becoming intolerable to those who stand for social justice as against the men who lust for power and riches. Pope Leo XIII sent out the warning and the true remedy. Socialism sent out the demand that private property should cease to exist because the Decalogue was outworn. But the world would not listen, it went its way, while the tide of just resentment by those who love the right and hate the wrong crept higher!

Meantime the cries of the masses for justice and mercy were mingled with the blasphemies that cursed God, whom they deny, and His Church that they know not. It was just prior to the world conflict that America was assured by the report of the President Emeritus of Harvard, who had taken a swing around the world, at the hest of the Carnegie Foundation, that all was well — that war was afar off.

But though the mills of God grind slowly, there comes the time when Eternal Justice is seen to have in keeping the fate of nations as well as the conscience of men.

No, we have no need to cite the horrors of the past four years of the world-war; but rather the great need to fairly face the future that the Bolsheviki would prepare for the peoples of the earth. Otherwise our joy at the signing of the armistice by Germany on November the eleventh, nineteen-eighteen, may be merely a passing event. For the underlying forces in human society that make for peace and war are as conspicuous to-day as they were before the dogs of war were let loose upon an unoffending neighbor. As Christ and Caiphas, right faces might in its effort to persuade men of good will to put into practise those just principles that are above the guarantee of an enduring peace between nation and nation — between man and man. But, above and below these national forces that have spent their blood and their treasure in offensive and defensive action, two organizations of world-wide proportions — The Catholic Church and the International Socialist movement — have stood out so prominently during the recent conflict

that men with ears heretofore closed to the sacred voice of the one as against the materialistic assertions of the other are coming to see that civilization itself is on the scales ready to be tipped over into chaos if the powerful and the rich will not return to those neighborly relations demanded by the Author of Nations.

When the fatal shot struck down the heir to the throne of Austria, Pius X, knowing the temper of all Europe, implored in vain that they would stay their slaughter. But the din of war drowned out the voice of the Vicar of Christ and with the clash of arms came the death — broken-hearted — of this holy man seated upon the throne of the Fisherman: *"Now I begin to think as the end is approaching, that the Almighty in His inexhaustible goodness wishes to spare me the horrors Europe is undergoing"* — were the passing words of Pius X — "The children's Pope."

When Benedict XV had ascended the pontifical throne his first Encyclical set forth the causes of the world-war and the remedies needed to compose differences:

"Now when from the height of this Apostolic dignity, We can, as if at one glance, contemplate the course of human events, and when We see before Us the miserable conditions of civil society We are affected with acute sorrow. And how could We, as the common Father of all men, not be sorely troubled at the sight of Europe, and, indeed, of the whole world — the most terrible and most painful spectacle perhaps that has ever been presented in the course of history? We warmly beseech rulers and Governments to consider the tears and the blood already shed and to hasten to restore to the people the precious blessings of peace. May

the merciful God grant that, as on the appearance of the Divine Redeemer upon the earth, so at the beginning of Our duty as His Vicar, the angels' voices may proclaim 'Peace on earth to men of good will' (Luke ii, 14), and We pray that they may listen who have in their hands the destinies of States. Assuredly there are other ways and other methods by which justice can be done to injured rights. Let the belligerents, laying down their arms, have recourse to these, animated by good faith and intention. It is through love of them and of all nations and not from any motive of Our own that We speak. Let them not, then, permit Our friendly and paternal voice to be raised in vain.

"But it is not merely the sanguinary war which darkens passions and troubles and embitters Our spirit. There is another furious war which eats at the entrails of modern society — a war which terrifies every person of good sense, because whilst it has accumulated, and will accumulate ruin amongst nations, it contains in itself the seeds of the present disastrous struggle. From the moment when the rules and practises of Christian wisdom ceased to be observed in States — rules and practises which alone guarantee the stability and peace of institutions — these States necessarily began to tremble at their foundations, and there followed such a change in ideas and customs that, if God does not soon intervene, it appears as if the dissolution of human society is at hand.

"The disorders that have arisen are:

"1st. *Want of mutual love amongst men;*

"2nd. *Contempt for authority;*

"3rd. *Injustice in the relations between the different classes of society;*

"4th. *Material welfare made the only object of man's activity (as if there were not other and much more desirable blessings to be gained).*

"These, in Our opinion, are the four causes why human

society is so greatly disturbed. It is necessary then that energy be exercised generally for the purpose of removing such disorders and restoring Christian principles, if the object is to put an end to discord and compose differences."

The world knows that this appeal to those " who have in their hands the destinies of States " was not heeded. But, our Father Almighty has a way to compel a hearing. Like as the " Scourge of God " swept down upon a decaying Pagan culture so has Bolshevism risen like a high tide inundating the despotic lust of power that had for centuries held captive the right of the Vicar of Christ to rule over His children in Russia. Its flood swept over into the land of Luther where the false principle of Higher Criticism had long since ripened into the atheist assent that right is the creature of might. Then came the recognition by those in whose hands are the destinies of States that their foe within was a force that must be reckoned with and the hand of European suicide was stayed. Yet, not before our own America had played so glorious a part in the world conflict that — Columbia must henceforth be given a powerful voice in winning for the subject peoples their right to a self-determined government.

As it should be, after a fall when self-will has left us bruised, battered and burnt, that reflecting upon the right and the wrong of the world conflict we are able to see the conduct of Christ and Caiphas as a warning that God is not mocked — that in His own good time, through the conflict of right with might, men come face to face with first principles. If nations will not

correct the contempt for authority by an impartial ruling of justice: if they will not institute the reign of equity upon the field of commerce, then that "furious war which eats at the vitals of modern society" will not stop at the eastern shore of the Atlantic, but set up its reign of terror on our own soil and overspread the world.

Truly both reason and experience attest that *He that is not with Me is against Me*. So must we choose! Not as between Christ and Cæsar, but between Christ and Caiphas — for we are bound to love and serve, at once, both God and Country. The time of reckoning seems not afar off. For the choice is not now between national existence with God merely left out, but rather between national extinction and the restoration of Christian principles with their application to all the affairs of the classes and the masses. In one word, the choice of those who wield unjust power and exploit the poor with ill-gotten gains, is to make restitution or to be caught with all of us in the on-rush of the men who will not serve God, neither Country nor Master.

The issue is clearly seen by those who with supernatural light observe the character building of men and of nations as they are ground betwixt the upper and nether millstone. Pope Leo XIII covered the whole ground of this irresponsible power and pointed out the necessity of Christian Democracy, if civil society were to survive the oncoming shock. As against this religious power, of which the Bishop of Rome is the Living Visible Head, the opposing force, Communism

— Socialism — Bolshevism is arrayed. We shall permit Vladimir Llitch Ulianoff — Nickolai Lenin — in *Soviets at Work,* to give the warrant for using Communism, Socialism, or Bolshevism as these three shades of meaning are required, since his dictum rests precisely upon the principles of the *Communist Manifesto* that have since 1848 supplied the ground for what is generally known as "Scientific Socialism."

"The Bolsheviks — formerly a faction within the Social-Democratic Labor Party, have recently changed their name to Communist Party to distinguish themselves from the other Social-Democratic groups.

"The terms Bolsheviks and Mensheviks date back to 1903, when at a congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party a difference arose on a seemingly unimportant question (editorial supervision of the party organ), when upon a vote which decided the question there naturally was a majority and minority. Those who were with the majority were nicknamed Bolsheviks and those with the minority Mensheviks, deriving their names from the Russian words Bolshinstvo and Menshinstvo, meaning majority and minority respectively."

Socialists know very well that to de-Catholicize the people means the de-Christianization of the world. But, to de-Christianize the world were the triumph of his Satanic Majesty. Be it so! and they sing a hymn in honor of that first and greatest rebellion against the Giver of Life (the *Rebel,* Socialist weekly, Halletsville, Texas, Oct. 21, 1916):

A PRAYER TO LUCIFER

By Covington Hall

Mighty Spirit! Lord of Light!
Beautiful and brave and bright!
Rather than in Heaven crawl,
Give me strength with Thee to fall!

Glorious, unconquered Chief,
Warring on through years of grief,
Give me strength to share Thy load,—
Let me die on freedom's road!

Rebel Leader, true as steel,
Thou who hast refused to kneel,
Hated by King, Priest and Slave,
Give me strength to be as brave!

Mighty Spirit, strong and bright!
Splendid Bearer of the Light!
Oversoul of liberty,
Up the pathway of the free,
Give me strength to follow Thee!

From this dictum they argue,— thus only one world-force would remain, and that power would be under the control of Socialism. However, we may let the Chairman of the International Socialist Bureau (Emil Vandevelde) set forth their official opinion:

"It is an indubitable fact that, notwithstanding appear-

ances to the contrary, Europe is now de-Catholizing herself. One might even go further with safety and say that she is de-Christianizing herself. Slowly but surely, with the irresistible movement of a geological subsidence, faith is waning among the industrial workers and even among the peasants. One may safely assert that about twenty years ago nearly every one held to some religious creed. Freethinkers were few and to be found only in the middle class. Societies for promoting secular marriages and burials existed only in the larger cities. To-day we see them spreading and multiplying throughout the industrial centers and wherever mining and manufacturing are carried on. In Belgium, in France, in Germany, the workmen who follow no particular creed number hundreds of thousands — yes, millions — and as their hopes of a heavenly kingdom dissolve, other hopes assert themselves with a growing intensity. Wherever free thought penetrates, Socialism enters also. We know, it is true, many workmen who become Socialists without relinquishing, or without totally abandoning their religious convictions; but aside from 'yellows' and 'blacklegs,' acting solely from mercenary motives, we neither know nor can conceive of any freethinking workman who is not at the same time a Socialist.

"*In the old world,— two gigantic coalitions are formed by the elimination of intermediaries: The Black international and the Red international. On the one hand all those who hold that authority should descend from above and who find in the Catholic Church the perfect expression of their ideal, the most flexible guardian of their class privileges; on the other hand are those who insist that authority shall come from the people, and who, by the logic of circumstances, can found their hopes on nothing but Social Democracy.*

"Between these two extremes Protestantism hesitates and Liberalism shifts from place to place. One may welcome or deplore the fact of this coming concentration of forces

about the Catholic Church on the one side, and Social Democracy on the other. But, none can deny that this concentration is inevitable, and that the future struggles will have to be fought out between these two armies. To those, therefore, who are interested in the social movement in Europe, we say: 'Observe, above all else, if you wish to consider only the essential factors, the political activities of the Roman Catholic Church and those of International Socialism.'" (*New York Independent,* Dec., 1904, Vol. 15, p. 817.)

There is no modification of pronouncement by Socialists here at home.— The Cross of Christ must yield to the red flag. So confidently do they predict that the "red international will down the black international" that the leading Socialist daily — the *New York Call* — presents its readers with a cartoon, well spread over a page of its paper, of their flag supplanting the Cross. A Socialist workman of giant proportions wearing a leather apron and a French Revolutionary Liberty Cap is standing in front of the magnificent Cologne Cathedral —"The charnel house of dead men's bones, of ignorance and superstition"— hoisting the red flag above the Cross that tops the steeple. Bishops and priests with miter, croziers and money bags are running away in confusion. Tagging on to the cord about the Bishop's waist are the military officers. The legend beneath —"*Down with the Black and Up with the Red!*" For God and Cæsar have been put to rout.

Tersely reechoing the words of the International Socialist Chairman, the United States Congressman from

Milwaukee — Victor L. Berger, member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party and editor of the *Milwaukee Leader,* when being interviewed by the *Boston Herald* said:

"I predict that in the final summing up it will be a fight between the red and the black international."

"What do you mean by the black international?"

"The Roman Catholic Church."

Certainly Catholics are not in doubt about the issue of the conflict. As surely as God is not mocked; as surely as the Almighty weighs the slightest offense against His Majesty in the scales of exact justice and as surely as our Heavenly Father is merciful to repentant sinners, just so sure are we that the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against the Church of Christ: For, our Blessed Lord Himself has said so.

Neither is there any doubt, humanly speaking, about the correctness of the Socialists' estimate as to the part Protestantism or Liberalism is playing in the world-conflict, as between the two opposing forces — one Catholic-universal, supra-national, the other non-national and world wide. As Protestant Christians hesitate to go to Canossa at the call of the Pope they are pushed on to so-called Liberalism, while Liberals shift from one unsound defense to another, finally taking their destined place in a blank denial of the supernatural. Thus they leave the brunt of the battle against the Lord God of Hosts to the army of Socialists, whose power for destruction none now may dispute.

It is true, however, that individual Protestants and

Liberals who love truth above all things and so are willing to pay the price of liberty within the Law are, in large numbers, finding their way — by the grace of God — back over a stony road to Rome.

This were indeed a logical sequence, since nothing less than a rational explanation of the meaning of life will satisfy the demands of the human heart and mind. And, since apart from the supernatural revelation — within the keeping of the Catholic Church — no man is able to tell us how it is that a good God reigns over a bad world. So it is, then, in God's goodness, that to those who "knock" the meaning of life here and hereafter is opened unto them.

Socialism would supersede the Church. It explains the fact of life by a process of evolution that starts off with a "*causeless cause*" for the cosmos and brings conscious man forth from a non-conscious universe made up of mere matter and force. It explains that the meaning of life ends with death; save for such of his words and his deeds as react upon those left behind.

How then, should a body of men dead both to the love and the fear of God conceive of the Catholic Church as other than a man-made institution whose "political activities" stand directly in the path of Socialism, the object of which is to create a "*classless society*"? A society not merely within this, that or another nation, but, rather, counterfeiting the Church militant on earth by their battle cry:—"*Working-men of all countries unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to win.*"

"The Black International"

The history of the world attests to the truth that men have never ceased to recognize the Pope as the supreme head of that Living Organism — natural and supernatural — which is by the Socialists opprobriously designated the "Black International." There is no break in the Apostolic Succession. There are some 300,000,000 persons of all races and climes who acknowledge allegiance to the Pope as their Spiritual Father — their authority and guide, on earth, in matters of faith and morals. From the beginning of the Christian era, Catholics have held that the power exercised by the Pope was originally conferred upon Simon, the Fisherman; when in response to Simon's confession of supernatural faith, Christ our Lord said: *"Thou art Peter and on this Rock I will build My Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against It."* In perpetual light Catholics have always held that as Christ's Church was to endure forever, as Christ was to be with His Church until the consummation of the world, as the Gates of Hell were not to prevail against it, consequently the power of Peter was to pass down to his Apostolic Successors through all the ages of time. This belief history substantiates first in the selection of Linus (67 A. D.), Cletus (76 A. D.) and so on all down the centuries until time brings us to Benedict XV, the 259th successor of Peter, whose power of the Keys he exercises. This being so, Catholics, therefore, believe Pope Benedict XV to be the Chief Pastor of the universal flock as Peter

was Chief Pastor of the Apostles, entrusted by Christ with the divine authority to teach all nations —*" to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."* In a general way when we speak of the Pope we mean the Church itself — that Christian Organism within which abides the love, the light and the life of Christ, the Saviour of Mankind, established in the year 33 A. D.

The Red International

Socialists themselves proudly designate as the " Red International " that society made up chiefly of representatives from groups organized sociologically, industrially and politically. The political groups are known variously as Social Democratic, Socialist, Socialist-Labor, Collectivist and Communist parties. Embracing all the known shades of open and organized revolt against what is termed the Present Order, Capitalism, Wage-Slavery, etc., etc., the International gathers strength from decade to decade notwithstanding the fact that its course has been twice interrupted and reorganized. Or, to use the Socialist phrase, " The point of the Revolution has been broken " for the second time.

The first International, organized in London (1864) under the title — The International Workingman's Association, called together about half a hundred delegates, representing six nationalities, with trade unionists in the ascendency. Many of the continental delegates were in exile in England with Karl Marx as the most notable personage.

The ostensible purpose of the London conference was

to find means to prevent the importation of cheap labor from the continent into England; to organize and assist wage-earners to obtain better economic conditions. Yet underlying these practical issues the real purpose of the leaders was "to afford a central medium of communication between workingmen's societies existing in different countries" for the propagation of their doctrine of revolt against "class-rule." The trade union element brought forth a resolution under the leadership of Mazzini advocating harmonious and reciprocal relation between capital and labor. In opposition to this draft Marx declared for the "abolition of class-rule" and his resolution was carried although the English workingmen made up nearly one-half of the delegates assembled. So it was that Marx became the dominating figure at the initial gathering of the International, and Socialism started upon its world-wide career.

So opposite were the practical aims of the trade unionists from the demands of the Socialists, Anarchists, Communists on the Continent that the English workmen virtually withdrew from the organization.

The affairs of the Red International were conducted through congresses held in different countries and through a General Council located in London, with Marx as German Secretary. The first of these congresses was held in Geneva — 1866. It was attended by about sixty delegates who were more "radical" than those assembled at London.

By the time the second congress was convened at Lausanne, Switzerland, the full-fledged spirit of revolt

had developed as expressed in the closing words of the President:

"We want no more governments, for governments oppress us by taxes; we want no more armies, for armies massacre and murder us; we want no religion, for religion chokes the understanding."

Upon the entrance of Michael Bakunin, a Russian, into the International Workingmen's Association at the congress of 1869 began a struggle between the Bakunians and the Marxians for supremacy. While holding the self-same atheistic philosophy, their methods for the realization of the "*new society*" very soon developed antagonism sufficient to "break the point of the Revolution" and thus extend their cult of destruction under the ægis of Socialism and Anarchism with Marx and Bakunin respectively in the lead throughout the world. The failure of the Paris Commune, which the International is said to have inspired, added to the disruption of these two forces while the success of the Bakuninites in getting their program adopted at the Basle Congress (1869) added fuel to the flame; and plans were laid to drive the Russian revolutionist out of the International. The final clash came in 1872 with the Socialists in the lead, as the Anarchists had been deprived of their leader. The Marxians had succeeded in having Congress convene at The Hague. They knew that Bakunin would be unable to attend as he had been "exiled from both French and German territory, and being at the time a resident of Switzerland, he was unable to reach Holland

without crossing one or other of the countries named." (Report Int. Workers' Congress. The *Leader* Press, London, 1896.) Nor was this all, " The Committee of credentials which was packed by Marx's supporters " gave them the control of the congress by a majority of " three votes." Bakunin was expelled from the International. However, the lead was still so unsafe for the Marxians that it was " deliberately " decided that death to the organization was preferable to the non-Marxian control of the International. The General Council was thus transferred to New York, far away from Bakunin's influence.

Here in America the first *International* languished and died. Mr. F. A. Sorge, a life-long friend of Karl Marx, endeavored to keep the organization alive. He called a convention in Philadelphia for July 15, 1876. Ten delegates assembled to represent the working-class of America and one who claimed to represent a Socialist group in Germany. So discouraged were they at the small attendance that the International was formally dissolved upon issuing a declaration that reads, in part, as follows:

" Fellow Working-Men, The International convention at Philadelphia has abolished the General Council of the International Working-Men's Association, and the external bond of the organization exists no more.

" The International is dead! The bourgeoisie of all countries will again exclaim, and with ridicule and joy it will point to the proceedings of the convention as documentary proof of the defeat of the labor movement of the world. Let us not be influenced by the cry of our enemies! . . ."

It were indeed a correct view that the defeat of the Socialist insurrection (Paris Commune 1871) had brought death to the first attempt at world-wide action in the interest of working-class rule and that its tombstone was set up in Philadelphia. After eighteen years had passed the bourgeoisie were made aware that although the International was dead, it still lives. It had learned something of politics in this interim, making its reappearance not so much as a workingmen's economic organization but rather with the emphasis upon political parties. The new series of the International Congresses of Socialists began in Paris in 1889. The Social Democratic Party of Germany was easily in the lead. To-day a political party organization, more or less defined, exists in every nation.

The Paris Socialist Congress (1900) established an International Socialist Bureau with Headquarters in Brussels. Thus the second Red International entered upon its career. Through this Bureau the Secretaries of the various countries extended and expanded their propaganda. Several congresses were held as follows:

FIRST INTERNATIONAL		SECOND INTERNATIONAL	
Geneva	1866	Paris	1889
Lausanne	1867	Brussels	1891
Brussels	1868	Zurich	1893
Basle	1869	London	1896
Hague	1872	Paris	1900
Philadelphia	1876	Amsterdam	1904
		Stuttgart	1907
		Copenhagen	1910
		Basle	1912

Everywhere public opinion and governmental action was being influenced by Socialist propaganda. Its philosophy insists that it has found the key to the meaning of life and that it will, if not by ballot, then by bullet, settle once for all the injustices that are suffered by the proletariat by the abolition of private property — by the repudiation of the Ten Commandments and the Giver of them. So it was at the beginning of our century that "Red ruin and the breaking up of laws" was well on its way sweeping out what little belief many talented "after Christians" still cherished in the supernatural life, who together with atheist Jews — God save the mark! — and a few renegade Catholics formed a force that had already become a powerful factor, here, too, in America in opposition to those right principles and sound institutions that are our proud inheritance as a free people. This was but a natural sequence,— that organized revolt should fan the fire of social discontent because of despotism, of autocracy; because of the wanton use of public power by elected servants; because of vast accumulations of wealth made by grinding the face of the poor; because of a contempt for public authority that shielded the mighty while condemning the petty offender. In one word by the great revolt of four hundred years ago, the soil of murder and rapine was being mellowed by those nations and those men who arrogated to themselves the right of private judgment as against Divine Authority. Since *noblesse oblige* had been largely exchanged for *laissez faire.*

Upon the outbreak of the world-war the rational na-

ture, implanted in the human race by Almighty God, asserted itself in the heart and mind of a multitude of Socialists sufficiently to call back the utter repudiation of love of country. Hence the Socialist International Bureau *ceased to function.* "*Let weaklings go to the International, I go to Hindenburg,*" said the editor of the *Chemnitzer Volksstimme.* Deserted by the action of the Social Democratic Party of Germany — their ideal political organization — in its support of the policy of the German government the hand of death slowly closed over the second Red International. To quote an American authority — A. M. Simons:

"When the war broke out the Socialist International more than failed. It not only broke into as many factions as there were warring nationalities; its constituent members went over to the enemy and, in many cases, sought to use the very ties created by International Organization to serve the ends of the deadliest enemies of Socialism." (The *New Review,* Vol. 3, No. 17.)

No less emphatic is the assertion of an international authority — Rosa Luxemburg:

"The German Social Democracy handed its political resignation on August 4th, 1914. On that same day, the Socialist International collapsed. All attempts to deny this fact or to conceal it merely serve to perpetuate the conditions which brought it about." (*New Review,* N. Y., Aug. 1, 1915.)

Surely one who has the world for one's country has no country. Yet, it is quite one thing to profess this

Internationalism and honor it by the motto—"The World is My Country" at the base of a statue on Commonwealth Avenue as the citizens of Boston are doing, but quite another to carry this anarchistic opinion to its logical and treasonable conclusion as the minority groups of all the Socialist parties of the several countries are doing. If, however, we sow the wind shall we rightly expect to escape the whirlwind?

The truth is that nations are not immune as is the Church against the assaults from the Gates of Hell. With the corollary that, although the life of the nation is but mortal, it, too, owes its existence to the Providence of God. Reasoning, then, with natural gratitude for its deliverance, one might assume that the recent experience of the most innocent, perhaps, and surely the most afflicted of all the nations in the world-conflict, would have been the last rather than the first to hail the advent of the third Red International. But, the great Rebel who first brought disorder into the world has still his followers. In spite of the glorious part taken there by a Prince of the Church, the Socialists of Belgium were the first to sound the toxin for a fresh onslaught throughout the world of Red Rebellion. From under the caption "*The International is Dead — Long Live the International,*" we quote:

"The First International vanished. An inglorious death met the second International. But the International still lives, still is the personification of the great watchword: 'Workers of all countries, unite!' The first and second Internationals have gone, but now comes the third to once

more sound the clarion call, the revolutionary red Third International!" ("Socialiste Belge," *Revolutionary Age,* Dec. 21, 1918.)

Some three weeks later the Belgian Labor Party sent a committee to meet the Executive Committee of the French Socialist Party. Their purpose was jointly to send out a call for an International Congress to meet in Brussels. It was proposed that delegates should be chosen from "those members of the International Socialist Bureau who represent the proletariat of the Allied Powers. This meeting would have for its object to examine under what conditions it will be possible to reconstruct, upon the basis of sincerity and mutual confidence, the Socialist and Labor International."

The French Socialists objected, since the Socialist parties of the sometime Central Powers were an integral part, indeed the larger part, of the International Socialist Bureau, their delegates should not be excluded without a hearing. So that project was killed a-borning.

From the news we are able to gather it now appears that not one but two Internationals will be established. One made up of "Social Patriots" the other of the Bolsheviki everywhere. Taking our cue in part from the leader of the Russian Bolsheviki, we see some little hope of a return to sanity of groups of men who before the war were unconscious of their loyalty to their own country and too of the fundamental right of every man to own private property in capital. We shall permit Lenin to define the meaning of the "Social Patriot."

"The Social Patriots are Socialists in words and patriots in fact, who agree to defend their fatherland in an imperialistic war, and particularly this imperialistic war. These men are our class enemies. They have gone over to the bourgeois camp. The Social Patriots are the enemies of our class, they are bourgeois in the midst of the labor movement. They represent layers or groups of the working class which have been practically bought by the bourgeoisie, through better wages, positions of honor, etc., and which help their bourgeoisie to exploit and oppress smaller and weaker nations, and to take part in the division of capitalistic spoils." ("Task of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," Petrograd, Sept., 1917.)

The "Social Patriots" are those internationalists who met at Berne at the call of Arthur Henderson of England and Camille Huysmans, Secretary of the defunct International Socialist Bureau of the second International; and the congress was made up of Socialists and Trade Unionists. It was repudiated by Socialists of the country in which it assembled and generally by the Bolshevist element of the organized movement throughout the world.

By what is said against it, rather more than by what it says for itself we gather our hope for a return to the normal activities of Trade Unions, and so a return to the world force that has in its keeping social health. The Social Democratic Party of Switzerland declared (February, 1919):

"We refuse to be represented at a conference where those morally responsible for the murder of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg will sit beside Comrades who even in the next

few weeks will fall, new sacrifices to the government Socialists.

"We greet the Russian revolution, and take up the battle cry of the Russian and German revolutionists, calling the proletariat to the world revolution."

In our own country the Berne Congress was repudiated in a resolution adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Russian, Lettish, Ukrainian, Esthonian and Lithuanian Federations of the Socialist party of America, we quote from their report February 9, 1919:

"The Berne Congress favors a bourgeois League of Nations, instead of a Socialist League of revolutionary nations; it is promoting a fraudulent bourgeois democracy instead of a proletarian revolution: it favors a Wilson peace of phrases instead of a Lenin peace of revolutionary deeds; it is a vipers' nest of Social Patriots and betrayers of Socialism."

The Bolsheviki here will have none of the Berne Congress, yet there is no mistaking their intention to further the world revolution:

"The last convulsive gasp of the International. Its corpse is now a stinking carrion. There must be a new International of revolutionary Socialism of the final struggle and victory." (*Revolutionary Age,* Boston, Feb. 22, 1919.)

The uncompromising elements of the Socialist movement in Europe have listed the several divisions of their strength throughout the world; have outlined their principles, program and aims and invited all their numer-

ous national divisions to join in setting up the third International. The document is sent out by the Communist parties, known also as the Bolsheviki (Russia), Spartacus (Germany) or left wing Socialists (Scandinavia, the Balkans and other countries).

It is signed by the representatives of eight countries who are attached to the Foreign Bureau of the Bolsheviki and countersigned by G. Tchitcherin, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

For:

1. The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Lenin-Trotsky).
2. The Foreign Bureau of the Communist Party of Poland (Manchiewsky).
3. The Foreign Bureau of the Communist Party of Hungary (Rudniovsky).
4. The Foreign Bureau of the Communist Party of German Austria (Duda).
5. The Russian Bureau of the Communist Party of Lettland (Rosin).
6. The Central Committee of Finland (Siirola).
7. The Executive Committee of the Balkan Revolutionary Social Democratic Federation (Rakowski).
8. For the S. L. P., American (Boris Reinstein).

Since the Bolshevists know their own, we present their list in full. Upon a recognition of the program sent out these groups will be considered "full-fledged" members of the Third International:

1. Spartacus Group (German).
2. Communist Party (Bolsheviki-Russia).

3. Communist Party (German-Austria).
4. Communist Party (Hungary).
5. Communist Party (Poland).
6. Communist Party (Finland).
7. Communist Party (Esthonia).
9. Communist Party (Lettland).
10. Communist Party (Lithuania).
11. Communist Party (White Russia).
12. Communist Party (Ukrainia).
13. The revolutionary elements of the Czech Social Democratic Party.
14. The "Narrow-Minded" Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party.
15. The Rumanian Social-Democratic Party.
16. The Left Wing of the Serbian Social-Democratic Party.
17. The Left Social-Democratic Party, of Sweden.
18. The Norwegian Social-Democratic Party.
19. The group "Klassenkampen" (Denmark).
20. The Communist Party (Holland).
21. The revolutionary elements of the Belgian Labor Party.
22 and 23. The groups and organizations and syndicalist movements in France, which in the main and on the whole, agree with Loriot.
24. The Left Social-Democrats of Switzerland.
25. The Italian Socialist Party.
26. The Left element of the Spanish Socialist Party.
27. The Left elements of the Portuguese Socialist Party.
28. The British Socialist Party, particularly that tendency represented by MacLean.
29. Socialist Labor Party (England).
30. I. W. W. (England).
31. I. W. W. of Great Britain.
32. The revolutionary elements of the Irish Labor organizations.

33. The revolutionary elements of Shop Stewards (Great Britain).
34. Socialist Labor Party (America).
35. The Left elements of the American Socialist Party (the tendency represented by Debs and the Socialist Propaganda League).
36. I. W. W. (America).
37. I. W. W. (Australia).
38. Workers' International Industrial Union (America).
39. The Socialist groups of Tokio and Yokohama (represented by Comrade Katayama).
40. The Young People's Socialist International.

Surely here is a formidable force organized for destruction and we confidently say that the Catholic Church which created our western civilization is the one power that can resist its advance and so preserve the human progress that has been made on earth since our Blessed Lord gave the charge to Peter, "Feed my lambs, feed my sheep."

II

STANDARDS OF FAITH AND OF FATALISM

HAVING established the existence of a world force in active opposition to the Universal — the Catholic Church — the standards by which socialistic-fatalism opposes itself to faith, above and beyond the mere reaction of things material, may well be brought out to show how completely antagonistic Socialist theory and its practical application — Bolshevism — is to Christian principles and practise within organized society. The candid mind will admit that upon the domain of the modern Cæsar — the State — which may be marked off into its four grand divisions — the civil; the social; the commercial and the domestic spheres — may be clearly seen the impress of those Christian doctrines, principles, practises and sentiments that after having conquered the ancient Pagan world erected the structure of civilization as we know it to-day,— with its ever restless desire to have God's will done on earth as it is in Heaven.

In truth, Socialism itself in its negative way is a tribute to Catholicity. When it condemns the evils that afflict modern life it does so upon the basis of morality and in terms that correctly correspond to Christian thought and sentiment. Yet, this is utterly inconsistent

with its basic doctrine that men are in no wise responsible for their individual conduct since their will is not free to choose the good from the evil. And, furthermore, since good and evil are not absolute principles but rather mere attitudes of mind, one may indeed be relatively more or less "class-conscious"— that is all there is to morality!

"Modern thought doesn't concern itself much about what is theoretically 'right,' but instead about what is socially useful. The more you analyze a supposed 'right' the more you are led to see in it merely some one's concept of what ought to be. In other words, the notion of a 'right' cannot be established on any natural or logical basis. It used to be supposed that the Almighty had granted to humankind certain securities known as 'rights' and after Rousseau's time it was supposed by many men that nature herself had definitely fixed them; hence the term 'natural rights.' But both ideas have had to give way. What the world is now fighting for is the establishment of a social order in which every one finds opportunity for his fullest development." (Head of Information Department of *Appeal to Reason*, Girard, Kan., Dec. 28, 1918.)

However, since right-reason forces the conclusion that the conduct of man — in the family, in his industrial relations and in political and social affairs — is dependent upon the principles, true or false, to which he pays allegiance, it becomes a matter of public safety to insist that free-will actions are moral or immoral as one's conduct conforms to the constitution natural to mankind: that is to say to God's law. The issue may be clearly seen by contrasting the view held by So-

cialists as to the origin of man with the belief held by Catholics and competent men of science. "Matter in motion" is the irrational first cause for the former; while the First Cause for the latter is our Omniscient Father — Almighty God.

From the consequence that man is an entity in himself — a distinct personality having free-will — he is morally bound to obey the law of his nature. His only right, therefore, lies in obedience, yet he has the power of disobedience. He has rights since God has given them — and responsibilities towards God, towards his fellow men and with regard to himself. He is commanded to love his neighbors as himself. As, by his natural constitution, the man and his neighbors dwell within civil society, we shall set forth some of the simple principles that perforce govern Christians and then, in contrast to these principles of right-reason, show forth the notions of man's relationships as they are found in Socialist propaganda here and abroad. Necessarily, as Christ's Vicar interprets the moral law for the government of Catholics and as their recognized Socialist authorities interpret their theory of the origin of man and his activity, as motived by a series of "class-struggles," there is all the difference between light and darkness; between right and wrong in the opinions and sentiments held by the one group and the other. What then, is the Catholic attitude towards the State of whatsoever form of just government?

Civil Society

By the command of the Lord-God, to render unto Cæsar the things that belong to Cæsar, patriotism becomes a positive law — for Christians a religious obligation. Civil authority is not indeed personal. It does not reside in the official as an individual — as the doctrine of the divine right of kings would make it out — but rather it belongs to that public entity — that moral body, the Commonwealth. The will of the nation like the will of the family, its unit, is cohesive. In it is the bond of the worth of the individual, with immortal life, and the bond of the worth of the family, the unit that makes up the mortal life of the country. In the will of the Commonwealth is, too, the bond of internal and external peace for safeguarding the rights of its members, while it claims from them their duties towards their country.

Patriotism, the supreme quality of this organic bond, demands the subordination of personal interests, of family kinships and of party loyalty in times of national stress. Not indeed for the glory of the State, primarily, but rather for the glory of the Author of Nations under whose providence and protection men are born to know God, to love God, and to serve Him as the sum and substance of our life on earth. It was not our country that gave us our natural rights, but rather God who gave us our Country to protect our rights on earth. So it is that the supreme sacrifice of life itself, is rightly given to one's country for the love of God; since the country we

are morally bound to love and to serve was given to us by God for the protection of our life, liberty, property and family. Hence within, *not without,* love and loyalty to God reside love and loyalty to country.

Conversely, patriotism will not permit of the use of public power for the extension of private fortunes; nor for the promotion of individual honor save for disinterested service rendered to the body politic. Hence the social organism functioning normally in times of peace demonstrates internal order. But in times of war organized force — moral and physical — is necessary for the defense of rights and the enforcement of justice, that peace and security may return as in normal times. Yet, since the injury done to the whole race by the rebellion of our first parents has consequences of social as of personal disorder the virtue of patriotism by inspiring heroic deeds forms a noble guard of eternal vigilance of our country's honor — the price we pay for liberty! All of us know that only *ten men* are needed to save a city.

Social Intercourse

The earth and the fulness thereof was given to man and since man must eat his bread in the sweat of his brow it consequently follows that each and every one of us, throughout all ages, should render due service to his own day and generation in return for the means of living — not indeed at a dead level, but of picturesque and interesting variety. For as some persons have one talent, others five and still others ten talents expressing qualities

and intensities of an infinitely changing development it should be evident that the flux and flow of social classes are natural to the aggregation of families that make up a nation. For men are born equal in this — they are sons of God and heirs of Heaven. Although their material and intellectual advantages vary greatly, yet their moral opportunities are such that each individual soul may — by God's grace — find the path to eternal happiness. To love one another is the law and to work out our particular talents in the service of our fellow men is our opportunity to do unto others as we would have them do unto us. Yet, if to the highest we will not respond, God's justice sees to it that we pay to the last jot and tittle what we owe to others. Since, then, we are commanded every day to pray to be forgiven our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us, woe be to those of us who do not in honor prefer one another by an exchange of courtesies that come as fittingly from the lowly as from the exalted, since the brotherhood of man is vastly more than a platitude.

Resting upon Christian standards, social intercourse creates a public opinion that is at once sound and beautiful, and a multitude of activities are developed for cultural enjoyment, while freedom in the expression of tastes, rather than slavery to fashion, is given for the ornate or the simple life. With love and justice as the two pillars of social culture, what should hinder the classes and the masses from dwelling together in friendly relationship?

The Commercial Sphere

There is no mistaking the individual right to the ownership of economic wealth operated with a view to increase one's private property if the Decalogue is not out of date. Nor to the individual right of a permanent inheritance of lucrative property. Otherwise, the foundation were lacking for the sufficient reason that private property is necessary to the support of the family — the family being the unit of the state. Since buying and selling is the ground floor of commerce the conclusion is without flaw that civil society is conditioned upon the exchange of commodities and services for its existence.

But justice is the foundation of the world — it claims primary recognition in all the relations of man with man. So be it! Upon the words of our Blessed Lord Himself, wage-paying and wage-taking is based upon the principle of economic justice. Just a little study should make it clear that the reasons for the exchange of work for money is an act of social advantage, although the reasons of the employer for giving the wage may differ never so greatly from the reasons of the employee who receives the wage. Yet, while the exchange of money for work gives the one and the other personal satisfaction, the *basis* of exchange is not personal advantage but rather it is equity. Measure for measure in economic value must by either party to the transaction be given and received, else injustice spoils the act by giving it the baneful character of robbing the one or

the other. It is clear then that a right understanding of the principles involved in buying and selling and a rightful discharge of duties, on either side of the bargain, will satisfy men of good will. To the envious man, justice is not sufficient. The laborers who received their just wage — a penny a day — grumbled when at our Lord's injunction His steward gave a penny also to those who, having found no man to hire them, went to work at the eleventh hour.

Moreover, no Christian disputes the principle that since all we have, and life itself, must be given in service to God it is mere common sense that the wealth a man has is held in trust. Consequently, the private property consumed in the production of more wealth must be used, ultimately, to promote the honor and glory of God. *Noblesse oblige* is not merely a chivalrous sentiment, it is a Christian statute, applicable to the sphere of commerce.

As for the wage-earner, his right to the life that God gave carries with it a right to the means of life. On this ground Pope Leo XIII sets forth the legislation that at the very lowest round of the wage scale a man shall receive money sufficient to maintain himself and his family in frugal comfort and, too, something to lay by for a rainy day or for the disabilities of old age. More than this! If through no fault of their own the idle men in the market place begin work at the eleventh hour, justice requires that the necessities of living be supplied to them. If not by their neighbors, the capitalists, then by the Commonwealth.

Yet even justice were cold comfort to those who, as the street phrase has it, are down and out. The Samaritan who was beaten and robbed on his way to Jericho may have been a saint or a sinner — we do not know. But, we do know that his condition called for succor. Furthermore, we know that those who passed him by "*on the other side*" were his neighbors, having the sternest obligation to be his keeper. Thanks be to God! there came a man who gave the necessary aid with the measure of generosity heaped up to the brim and running over.

Let it not be said that although the wage-system is permanent in principle and in itself entirely just, that wage-earners are doomed to remain in that economic station for life. Not so, for men are ascending and descending the industrial ladder — from wage-earner to capitalist and from capitalist to wage-earner — every day in the year.

No more can the principle of economic competition be separated from that of economic cooperation. For men cooperate and compete within a single industrial plant, yet they are in combination for the purpose of winning the competition prize — the market. Just as *up* and *down* come together at the horizon so the two extremes of competition and cooperation meet on common ground, — each to correct the excesses of either. For under the providence of the Author of Nations the Commonwealth is entitled to the best work of all its citizens, and like as the power and skill of a man's right hand is combined with the power and skill of his left hand

in order to work out the design in his mind into a product for his own advantage, likewise — while keeping close within their mutual rights and duties — may our citizens work to the advantage of the body-politic while working also for their own advantage.

The Church, the Commandments, the Gospels, and right reasoning make it clear that the capitalist has a *right* to his justly gotten gains; yet, it is also as clear that he has the *power* to get and to keep ill gotten gains. Also, the wage-worker has a right to the full value of his toil. Yet, the cry of the laborer that his just wage has been kept by fraud goes up to Heaven for redress. Even so! Since it shall profit a man nothing to gain the whole world at the loss of his soul, redress is surely on its way and woe be to those who carry rebellion in their hearts to their graves.

The Domestic Sphere

As commerce is the material foundation of civilized life, so is the family the natural — the moral — foundation of the social organism. Hence it is that the health of a nation may be known to be good by the freedom of its families from blasting and corrupting motives and influences. Catholics have but one voice as to the standards that are necessary for the maintenance of family integrity. For the sufficient reason that the Church has but one voice on the matter — God's voice. Christians must then, of necessity, recognize marriage as divine in its origin while its purpose is natural to the existence of the human race.

Within the marriage bond "these twain are one flesh" in a life union.

Marriage is a state of life mutually entered into by one's own free-will consent.

The formation of this moral body — the family — has two primary functions,— the propagation of the race and the mutual comfort and happiness of husband and wife.

Within the body politic man stands as the responsible head of the family; while within the precincts of the home woman has the leading responsibility. Thus, *these twain,* made one, perfectly complement each the other in the every-day duties and dignities that the exigencies of life bring to the family.

The primary and chief duty of parents is that of rearing children in the love and fear of God; that they may glorify their Father in Heaven. The parents' secondary duty is like unto their first: By education, fitting their children to love their neighbor as they love themselves and to pay due love to their country and due loyalty and obedience to Cæsar — the authority of a nation that is rightly empowered to govern, upon the consent of the governed. Since the family government is prior to that of the Commonwealth and since the family is the necessary unit of the Commonwealth, God's commands lay the foundation of all government and are first to be obeyed — to the end that the sufferings of Christ shall accomplish their mission, namely, the redemption of mankind.

So it is that Christians hold ever in mind the super-

natural character of the family relation — the gift by which parents in cooperation with Almighty God clothe the human soul with its physical body. Nor is it ever forgotten that our Divine Lord marked off with especial sanctification the entrance upon parental obligation, by His presence at the marriage feast at Cana — there it was that Christ worked His first miracle.

From the fact that God has been driven out of Socialist consideration and that even the First Cause of all creation is asserted to be a "causeless cause" the teachings of Socialism are at once seen to be irreconcilable with the moral code of the Church. They have no sanction for their shifting standards of belief and conduct save only the will of their "class-conscious" majority; of which the Bolsheviki is a recent and rather overwhelming demonstration.

But, Christian morality is plainly based upon positive law. One must believe in God, free-will, the Christian concept of the family, of the state, of private property and of individual moral responsibility as interpreted by the Pope for the government of Catholics.

All this is lightly brushed aside by a puff of wind from the lips of their founders and leaders as "bourgeois morality"— something quite out of date. Moreover, it is fiercely conceived to be their especial mission to oppose and to overthrow the entire structure of society; while they await the oncoming of what the "evolutionary" future shall bring forth from the "womb of Capitalism." This negative, destructive attitude, is relied upon with as complete a fatalistic confidence as

one may rightly have with a tried-out chemical formula. To change the "capitalist system" by destroying it, is the way to form that "new society" of their dreams. This is quite logical, for it rests upon a profoundly unreasonable, if one may be allowed the term, premise, that all factors, be they spiritual, political, social or domestic, are but emanations from the economic class conflicts between man and man. The negation of man's spiritual nature and the assumption that materialism is the cause of idealism sets forth the explanation of the Socialist method of propaganda. By doing nothing on the principle of construction they propose to translate their philosophy into act.

There is no mistaking the essential meaning of Socialist philosophy. Let us quote a classic of Karl Marx — a world authority:

> "The economic structure of society is the real foundation, on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness." (P. 11, "Critique of Political Economy," N. Y., 1904.)

Neither common sense, world experience nor Christian enlightenment can come to our aid in the interpretation of the premise here laid down by Marx: That the mode of production determines the spiritual processes of life: that "social existence" is the source of

individual consciousness. Quite to the contrary one must have recourse to the Socialist discovery that the *what* and the *why* of life is confined to three score years and ten: that it is the "economic structure of society" — the relationships sustained by men in the production and exchange of commodities for individual profit — reacting upon the "tool-using animal" that has induced a mass consciousness of which the individual partakes. But, angels and men defend us! The conscious principle — that which makes us each an individual soul, fit for immortal life, is what this latest heresy would rob the race of. Socialists would substitute for the image of God a mere by-product of the clash between economic classes. Something like the light struck by flint against flint is produced as economic class strikes against economic class — the combat being perpetual. This never ceasing strife polishes up the wits that have somehow come from "matter in motion" as the final cause of the human race. Something as the pebbles on the shore are polished by the thunderous ocean as the tide heaves in and out, so are the wits of the individuals — the cells of the social organism — sharpened as one set — the capitalists — fight in taking and holding from the other set — the workers — who likewise fight to hold and to keep the wealth that is produced.

Their theory has it that from class-consciousness there shall evolve race-consciousness, when the fight has been fought to the finish. Then harmony shall reign, since a "classless society" will have but one interest — *self-interest* in improving its methods of production for the

benefit of all its individuals — its cells. The end all and be all of life shall come. Let all eat, drink and be merry for to-morrow all die. Alas! poor Yorick! Why should a live cell speculate about a dead cell?

Surely not a little study is necessary to learn the meaning lying within the cumbersome language of the man, who above all others has laid down the dogmas of the Socialist cult. Yet, it is evident that Marx's followers the world over have mastered the irrational system of thought and are in general accord with their German master.

Throwing aside the moral obligation under which we all stand towards God, our fellow men, and towards ourselves as "meaningless and confusing" a leading American authority — Morris Hillquit — sets down his allegiance to the spurious principle that the one only factor relative to moral enlightenment is the "purely social factor."

"The factors determining the degree and direction of moral development will be found in the philosophy of Karl Marx, who alone consistently introduced the spirit of Darwinism into the study of social phenomena by substituting the economic interpretation of history and the resultant doctrine of the class struggle in the more modern stages of social-development for the instinct of self preservation and the resulting doctrine of the struggle for existence in its lower stages." ("Socialism in Theory and Practice," pp. 51–52.)

Denying the Decalogue, by ignoring it, with the assumption that standards for human conduct come up from time to time with the changing relations upon the

field of commerce, Socialists now assume that the "morality of the ruling class" is being overcome by the "new morality of the working class." Of course, the rational view is that since the Ten Commandments are the constant — the never changing moral law, they are as applicable at an earlier stage of social development as at a later date in the history of the race. Yet, Mr. Hillquit follows up his fallacious argument by adding two up-to-date commandments, man-made. To quote (p. 63):

"The two historical slogans given to the modern socialist and labor movement by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, 'the emancipation of the working-man can only be accomplished by the working-men themselves'; and 'Working-men of all countries, unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain!' may truly be said to be the main precepts of the new morality of the working-class."

Plainly it is not this materialistic doctrine that attracts so many workers and holds them captive to the Juggernaut car of the latest paganism. It is rather the stirring of the holy spirit of freedom within them that by impatience with the mills of God that grind so slowly, turns them away from the straight and narrow paths that must be trod by the light of reason.

The Socialist platforms of our country are not so coolly, so brazenly atheistic in setting forth their fatalistic standards of morality. Yet, the Godless basis is there, for it is the leaders who form the platform to attract the attention of the rank and file of the worldly ambitious and discontented men: of men with many a

just grievance that should have been righted, and would have been righted if there were to be found in every city and town within the dominion of Cæsar *ten men* wholly determined that the law of Christ should be applied.

The key note of the 1908 platform is struck dogmatically: "*Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter*"— to be sure! Yet, this is the lesser half of the truth since human life depends absolutely upon the will of God. Indeed, since the necessities of life are, too, as truly God's free gifts to man as life itself, it is wholly gratuitous to assert that "*Only when these things are assured is freedom, culture and higher development possible.*" It should be held in view that *higher development,* in the mind of the makers of this platform, has reference to the progress of the race towards the super-man — a sort of creature that may be expected to inhabit the earth, once the war of classes has climaxed in the "classless society."

Then, too, reasoning rightly and consulting our experience, we see that a state of human freedom is entirely compatible with the work of getting one's bread and butter by whatsoever honorable means. Happily, a vast number of our American population may testify to their religious and civil liberty. Moreover, it is common recognition that true culture is impossible upon the materialistic and animalistic foundation of human society, because of the supreme fact that man lives not by bread alone. For just as true courtesy is an outward evidence of one's conviction of the equality of human souls, so is a broad culture an outward expression

of one's intellectual understanding that although men have a vast variety of natural gifts and genius in varying degrees, the services of one particular class of workers are as essential to the well-being of our citizenry as another — be those services rendered by men of genius most highly developed — since Divine Economy rules over the acts of men en masse within the Commonwealth. This is the basis of the equality of man upon the domain of Cæsar. Hence when God is left out of human reckoning the loss acts upon the intellect like the deadly fumes of gas. It creeps into the unwary mind poisoning those who are not immuned by their faith in a just foundation of things human. Despair is one of its noxious products. What would be the use to work against fate, if by fate both employer and employee were the mere sport of blind force?

Yet, this impossible task is the contract that Socialism has taken upon itself. To quote further from the platform of 1908:—"*The capitalist class . . . is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed.*" Just what rightful business the word "moral" has in this connection no man can tell! Yet the explanation is simple. Mankind is given a rational nature and however hard one may try to slink away from his conscious principle, it abides. The image of God is not to be blotted out at the behest of man:

> "So long as the light holds out to burn
> The vilest sinner may return."

But not after!

Knowing how difficult, aye impossible, it is for even those steeped in the poison of the "materialistic conception of history" to stick to their text, and consequently that the true records of the race are freely mingled with their false principle of *economic determinism,* to the confusion of well-meaning men: that Socialist denunciation of the evils of the day — which in fact exist in a measure hardly to be exaggerated — seems to promise to the lowly that they are about to bring them into their own; knowing that the wrong cause is supported — not indeed to gain a mess of pottage for which they are willing to barter their souls — but with the expectation that social justice may be secured for all, we deem it essential to cover this fatalistic foundation of Socialist propaganda somewhat thoroughly. For it should be clearly seen for what it is — the fundamental negation of the rational constitution of the race. Hence directly contrary in its norm of conduct to those Catholic principles — those truths, and those alone, that shall save our beloved country from disaster.

This is their touchstone: —"Class morality" has ruled *individual morality* out of the court of mankind. Now, since "*class morality*" is indeed something new under the sun we shall establish the fact of its place in this world movement and show how strictly its precepts are adhered to throughout our western civilization.

The "Socialist Bible"— *Das Kapital* — lays down the dogma that ramifies throughout every department of their scheme to set up a free society:

"My standpoint from which the evolution of the economic formation of society is viewed as a process of natural history, can less than any other make the individual responsible for relations whose creature he socially remains, however much he may subjectively raise himself above them." ("Capital," p. 15, Kerr edition.)

First to make sure we have the genuine article — made, not by the working-man for the working-man, but by a highly gifted German-Jew, whose father had renounced his religious connections that he might practise the profession of law — we quote from the platform of the Socialist party (1912) of our own country, the gist of "economic determinism." Having enumerated all the other agencies that go to make up the structure of our body politic as "absolutely controlled" by the capitalist class, the "*religious and moral agencies,*" are set down as the climax. Certainly we hold no brief for other religious bodies, but as obedient lay members of the Catholic Church we protest with all our mind, heart and strength that Her activities here on earth are neither "subsidized" nor controlled by the capitalist class. Not one of the 15,817 Parish Churches nor one of the 6642 Parish Schools, academies, colleges and universities is under the control of any group of capitalists nor of any individual capitalist. It is God's word — Christ and Him Crucified — that is preached, for the love of souls. The Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount give the standards for Christian morality; while on every Sunday in the year the gospel lesson is set forth with the purpose of enforcing the prac-

tical application of the law and the counsels of Christ to the every-day relations of life — personal, social, civil and domestic. From infancy to death Catholics are under the direct influence and in holy association with the Giver of Life — of Justice — of Love.

However, one word aside from our main purpose may be said regarding the Socialist platform. Notwithstanding its utterly perverse basis there are many measures listed to which right-minded men may freely give assent. Measures that good citizens strive to have enacted into our statutes and enforced. But these measures do not follow as a consequence from the morally irresponsible doctrine of Socialism. Quite to the contrary they are grounded in Chrisian principles. One may look back to the days of the craft guilds — when society was directed by the Vicar of Christ — to see many of them, not merely advocated, but in practise. The shorter hour working day; better sanitary conditions in factories, mines and mills; the abolition of child labor; better housing conditions; craft insurance; employment for the unemployed; reclamation of arid and swamp lands; etc., etc., are frankly used by Socialist parties for propaganda purposes. Socialist leaders know very well that once men have been attracted by measures to the advantage of the wage-earners and so induced to take the first step, by voting their ticket, they may be initiated later, "*and then, after we have made them members of the Socialist Party, we can talk to them inside our ranks, talk of the higher philosophies and of the logical consequences of our explanation of*

society and nature." (Ernest Unterman, Official Proceedings S. P. Convention, Indianapolis, 1908.)

The explanation is indeed crucial. Yet, it is in substance given at the conclusion of the *Practical Measures* of the platform, 1912.

"Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole power of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance."

The working class is thus taken under the tutelage of Socialists who propose to initiate them in that see of their political power by which every mother's son has his private property in capital, well gotten or illy gotten, taken from him. Thus it is clear that treason and theft are held to be the "class morality" by which workmen may come into "their rightful inheritance." Yet, since it was "*the introduction and spread of salad-oil*" that has put agnosticism almost if not quite at a respectable par with the Church of England (Engels—"Socialism Utopian and Scientific") who knows but that *up* will be *down* and *right* will be *left* even in our own day? Especially as Prof. Charles Zueblin (Conference on Socialism, Chickering Hall, Boston) has lent the great weight of his dictum to them in making down up and up down: "The International Socialist movement does more to preach unflinching morality than any other organization in the world."

Surely from this time on chaos should be order.

Hold! We are saved by material intervention! Since Jane Addams — "Newer Ideals of Peace" makes it certain that:

"The Socialists are making almost the sole attempt to preach a morality *sufficiently all embracing and international* to keep pace with material internationalism which has standardized the threads of screws and the size of bolts."

Who will now have the least possible doubt that the "standardization" of the threads of screws and the size of bolts will work even a greater regeneration in the morals of the race than the spread in the use of salad oil? It alone, reduced English churchmen and agnostics to one dead level, almost, why then put a limit to the effectiveness of a truly mechanical device? Again! This "scientific knowledge" is having a wider circulation than is given by Miss Addams' book by itself. The Socialists know their own when they see it. Besides being the one and only authority on the "philosophy of life" they know who are and who are not Christians. Quite consistently they use in "War: What For?" — a book well calculated "to drain the recruiting stations and thin the ranks of soldiery" —this identical quotation with the introduction — "*Listen again — to the best-known and the best-loved Christian woman in the United States, Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, Chicago.*"

A newer ideal with a vengeance! — a morality that finds its sanction in material progress, and if it would be up to date, must keep pace with international pro-

ductions. A morality that has quite stripped itself free from God's law — that is never new, never old, but ever ready for application to whatsoever changes the genius of race may bring about, for the material well-being of mankind. Alas! When women join in spreading darkness for light — a process as old as the hills upon which his Satanic Majesty first tempted men to their eternal damnation — it is time for the most prejudiced against the Catholic Church in the interest of their country, if not for the love of the faith, to sweep their spirit in the dead of the night.

No, the Socialist party platform is not a commentary. One must go to their leaders to learn what in fact is beneath the planks of the platform. Long ago, Wilhelm Liebknecht — an international authority, said in "Sociaism: What It Is and What It Seeks," "*the agitators, the journalists and the learned of the party must give the commentary.*" Quite so! Especially since the platforms are largely shaped to attract raw recruits, rather than to give an adequate idea of what the party really stands for. Who, save the veteran followers of Marx, Engels, Hillquit, Debs and Berger, in the State of Ohio, could tell what their platform of five words calls for? "The World for the Workers" (1918). Yet, after all is said their grand objective is as vague as these five words to the novice. Stated in their own terms their positive objective is necessarily obscure. The "expropriation" of the *capitalist class* — the taking of land and capital now in private hands and making them collective property to be administered in a "class-

less" society, cannot be intellectually grasped since a "classless" society is irrational, therefore meaningless. This basic objection has never been fairly faced. When the leaders are asked how their principles are to be successfully carried out, they ring a multitude of changes all pitched in the classic key given by Marx: *"We are not making cook-shop receipts for the future society."*

Why, then, should one bother about the immorality of Socialist standards if their objective is irrational? Let their movement come to naught. The answer is, that men are not deprived of their active principle because they hold immoral notions, nor because their aims are not rational, neither because the foundation of their movement is false. The danger is in the fact that although the Socialist movement is incapable of construction it is quite capable of destruction. Besides — and this is the pith of the whole matter — if their propaganda did not rotate around a body of truth it could not gather a destructive force of any social consequence. What lover of economic justice does not respond to the demand of the wage-earners for their just share in the advantages of the wealth they produce? What lover of civil liberty does not desire to see men free within the restrictions of a just government? Borrowing these great principles from Christian morality and citing their flagrant abuses in our modern society, gives a holy fire to the words of these false prophets, enabling them to lead a multitude of uncritical men the wrong way for the right thing. It

was ever thus! — having incited the mob, it cries out "Crucify Him! Crucify Him!" If we would see what disaster, what horror, a little truth, with a deal of error, can do let us look at Russia. There the majority of the Socialist movement — the Bolsheviki — attempting to carry out their ideal program for creating a *classless society* gives us a spectacle that tells its own tale.

Our obligation is plain — right relations and conditions bring peace within the Commonwealth.

But, since the generality must be convinced that the stability of our country is menaced we shall do what we can for its safety by permitting Socialist authorities to set forth their own doctrine in their own way. No possible denunciation of their perverse principles could be as conclusive, to those who are able to appreciate the full meaning of their statements.

Running true — but far ahead — of its Protestant origin by its denial of the authority of Christ's Vicar to regulate the conduct of kings with regard to the inherent rights of their peoples and with regard to their moral conduct one towards another, Socialism repudiates moral authority altogether. Thus reducing the *power* of what is right below the level of the power of might. Hence the majority may work its own human will.

Because of their utter repudiation of absolute authority the study of Socialism obliges one to give chief consideration to what is denied rather than to what is affirmed, in order to view their standards of thought and conduct from the proper perspective.

Socialism Denies the Existence of God — Thereby repudiating the first principle of morality.

"When science began to establish the fact of the mechanical origin of the universe" it "threw the theological creator out of his own creation." (Ernest Unterman, "Science and Revolution," pp. 158–159.)

"Socialism knows the absence or impairment of the belief in God is one of the most powerful factors for its (Socialism's) extension, because the priests of all religions have been, throughout all phases of history, the most potent allies of the ruling classes in keeping the masses pliant and submissive under the yoke by means of the enchantment of religion, just as the tamer keeps a wild beast submissive by the terrors of the cracks of his whip." (Enrico Ferri, "Socialism and Modern Science," p. 63.)

Socialism denies that man is made in the image of God — Therefore, he is devoid of divine attributes.

"In the image of himself (man) he created Him (God); not vice versa." (August Bebel, "Woman and Socialism," p. 438.)

"It is no longer God and Man, nor even Man and God, but Man only, with God an anthropomorphic shadow, related to man not as his creator, but as created by him. God and Man are not 'two' but in reality 'one.'" (Arthur Morrow Lewis, "Evolution Social and Organic," p. 133.)

Socialism denies belief in religion — Thereby repudiating all moral standards for thought, word and deed.

"Religion is the opium of the people. It is the striving of

the people for an imaginary happiness. It springs from a state of society that requires an illusion." (Karl Marx, "Critique of the Philosophy of Law by Hegel.")

Reporting to the National Socialist Party Convention, Indianapolis, May 12–28, 1912 (Proceedings, p. 247–248) the Executive Committee of the National Lettish organization urges opposition to Christian morality:

"The ethics of Socialism and religion are directly opposed to each other. Christianity teaches brotherly love for all, Socialism discriminates among social classes. It (Socialism) preaches the class struggle among those whose interests are opposed. . . . the Church puts the stamp of approval (good) or disapproval (bad), according to some superhuman ethics, dictated by a being unknown to mankind."

"While large masses of the people are completely in ignorance about the most elementary parts of natural science it is an easy task for the Church to beguile the workers and to make them intellectual cripples. Once they have become such, they gladly accept the spiritual crutches extended to them by the servants of the Church. . . ."

"Our members ought to be enlightened about the evolution of the universe, development of mankind, and other important matters of natural science in order that any kind of superstition may be eliminated from midst our ranks."

This self-same hostile attitude towards religion is taken in every country. The British Socialist Party Manifesto (1911) that is "*issued not as the view of an individual but as the accepted manifesto of the Socialist party on the subject of Socialism and Religion,*" begins by quoting Karl Marx that religion is a mere "reflex of the real world" and that the "mystical veil," religion,

will be "stripped off" when we shall have "a society of freely associated men." The Manifesto then proceeds in its own language:

"It is, therefore, a profound truth that Socialism is the natural enemy of religion. Through Socialism alone will the relations between men in society, and their relations to Nature, become reasonable, orderly, and completely intelligible, leaving no nook or cranny for superstition. The entry of Socialism is consequently, the exodus of religion."

Socialism denies the claims of the old Jewish theory and the claims of the religion of Christ that morality and ethics are fundamentally based upon religion — the relations of man to his Maker.

"Morality and ethics have nothing to do with organized religion. The contrary is asserted only by weak-minded persons and hypocrites." (August Bebel, "Woman and Socialism," p. 321.)

Socialism denies eternal principles — the necessity of universal standards.

"There never could be and there cannot be a standard of moral principles suitable to all times and conditions." (Philip Rappaport, Chicago, 1913, "Looking Forward," p. 93.)

"Truth is relative, not absolute. There are no absolute standards of right and wrong." (Joseph Cohen, "Socialism for Students," p. 120.)

So easily — by mere denial — is God, Revealed religion and the Ten Commandments ruled out of reckon-

ing by the followers of those who pose as having the only rational view of life, in retrospect and in prospect. Upon their imperial ægis of *denial,* Socialists proceed to lay down the law. Surely the universal practise amongst men of judging this good and that bad must be accounted for. Consequently they had better begin with the customs of savage tribes. Why? Oh! because — the knowledge we have of these peoples is our latest acquisition. Is it not plain that our earliest records, both inspired or secular, were written by civilized peoples. Thus the less we know the more Socialists assume to know about the infancy of the race.

With neither spiritual light nor human intelligence to begin with — albeit God's perfect creation to the contrary — men must await their time to "learn to produce food in abundance" before "the practise of man-eating and killing its own members becomes immoral." ("Socialism in Theory and Practise"— Hillquit, p. 53.) Ergo, this the proof that moral standards are evolutionary — not eternally fixed. Moreover, to give good measure and some thrown in, it is taken for granted that cannibalism was the common "moral" practise during the infancy of the race. Of course, one must naturally be given a lower standard from which to evolve upward. Yet, since both history and science are agreed that cannibalism has been found only in isolated instances as a food supply, and then amongst degenerate tribes, somehow the underpinning of Socialist "morals" has dropped out altogether. Happily our native Americans have rather a clean record:

"Cannibalism simply for the sake of food could hardly be said to exist (among Indians), but, as a war ceremony or sacrifice following a savage triumph, the custom was very general, particularly on the Texas coast and among the Iroquoian and Algonquian tribes of the east." (Professor James Mooney, U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C., p. 750, Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 7.)

If not history, nor science, then a little logical thinking should be of service to those who are wont to condemn the evils of our day with the principles set forth by the Ten Commandments — the natural law implanted in each and every one of the human race. For they have but to view their own inconsistency by contrasting the principles with which they win sympathy, from those who defend the oppressed, and the fatuity with which they set out their hope for a "free society." Evidently it has not yet occurred to these doctrinaires that if there were no static force, there would be nothing by which to recognize the opposite — dynamic force. And, thus, to reason, the moral law necessarily holds as against all pressure against it by its opposite — immoral force. Yet, if neither history, science nor logical thinking, from a basic ground that satisfies human reason, finds favor, there remains conscience. It persists — calling men back to the natural law of their being. And at the end of life there is the Judgment. No, hell is not paved with good intentions, and the law is not far away from any one of us.

"Quidquid fit contraconscientiam, ædificat ad gehennam" — The rule and measure of duty is not utility, nor expedience,

nor the happiness of the greatest number, nor State convenience, nor fitness, order and the pulchrum. Conscience is not a long-sighted selfishness, nor a desire to be consistent with oneself; but it is a messenger from Him Who both in nature and in grace, speaks to us behind a veil, and teaches and rules us by His representatives. Conscience is the Vicar of Christ, a prophet in its informations, a monarch in its peremptoriness, a priest in its blessings and anathemas, and even though the eternal priesthood throughout the Church could cease to be, in it the sacerdotal principle would remain and would have sway." (The Fourth Lateran Council of the Catholic Church, A. D. 1215.)

Seeing that their *denials* would sweep away the foundation of things rational, let us now turn the tables and see what Socialists set forth as their positive doctrine.

Socialism asserts man's origin from the brute creation, unqualifiedly.

"Darwin dealt the metaphysical concept of Nature the heaviest blow by his proof that all organic human beings, plants, animals, and man himself, are the products of a process of evolution going on through millions of years." (Frederick Engels, "Socialism Utopian and Scientific," p. 83.)

"Neither as a thinking man nor as a moral being is man essentially different from the animal" (p. 119). "Probably man is not sprung from the highest type of apes, the man apes, which are tending to die out, but from a lower species of four-handed animals" (p. 75). (Karl Kautsky, "Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History.")

Not to call upon religious experience for testimony, the objection is, that neither science nor common knowl-

edge upholds this dictum of no essential difference between mankind and the animals. Just to the contrary, since "*animals do not think.*" Animals have not the positive art principle; man is so endowed. When animals build it is according to a design that they work out by instinct. It is God's wisdom, of which they partake non-consciously, that guides them. When animals are domesticated, the will of man dominates their acts to that degree which makes them useful to him. Man is the "tool-using animal" for the sufficient reason that he has reason *plus* instinct. Animals use substances and forces negatively — they act in negative obedience — with perfect conformity — to the law of their being. On the contrary, man uses substances, objects and forces positively; knowingly he carries out his own positively created designs. God gives the animals — all things of natural creation — which by his intuition man sees to be good for his purposes. By his free will man selects *this* and *that*. Having created his designs out of that immaterial stuff that the human mind alone is capable of using, the man proceeds to work up the things he has appropriated, from the natural storehouse, into utilities. So it is that by universal experience an immeasurable gulf has ever been known to lie between the brute creation and the human race.

Not only do Socialists hold this gross error — that man is different only in degree, not in kind, from the animals — as against the common testimony of all the ages but they will not yield even to the world's most reputable and renowned scientists in the matter. Even

though "newspaper" science still flatters this ignorant assumption it should be the common knowledge of critical minds that the great biologists hold the undivided opinion that there is no data extant to prove the so-called Darwinian evolutionary theory of man's animal descent. Yet, since the fact is that "*a comprehensive grasp of the Socialist philosophy implies a knowledge of Darwinian theories*" ("Evolution Social and Organic," p. 41, A. M. Lewis), the conclusion is that both the one and the other is quite out of reason, since they are in unity.

Together with other of the world's greatest authorities on this matter may be found the names of many priests and Catholic laymen. Rev. H. Muckermann, S.J., professor of biology, thus concludes an article (Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 5, p. 670):

> "There is no evidence in favor of an ascending evolution of organic forms. For there is no trace of even a merely probable argument in favor of the animal origin of man. The earliest human fossils and the most ancient traces of culture refer to a true Homosapiens as we know him to-day."

With one prominent exception, it may fairly be said that the leading men of science hold the views quoted from Fr. Muckermann. That one exception is rather a camouflage, than an endorsement of the theory of man's origin from the ape. For it was the misfortune — or mayhap fortune — of Ernest Haeckel to be discredited at the college of Jena — by his German associates in science — for using fictitious diagrams of the

"missing link" in the interest of a blood connection between the man and the monkey.

In his brilliant and scholarly book—"The Oldest Riddle and the Newest Answer" (London, 1904)—a reply to Haeckel, John Gerard, S.J., F.L.S., gives a list of Continental scholars "*all of whom either reject Darwinism altogether, or admit it only with fatal reservations.*" Viz:

Blanchard, Wigaud, Wolff, Hamann, Pauly, Driesch, Plate, Hertwig, Heer, Kolliker, Emier, Von Hartmann, Schilde, Du Bois-Reymond, Virchow, Rageli, Schaafhauser, Fechner, Jakob, Huber, Joseph Rauke, and Van Bauer. An equally long list of American scholars could be named. Let us quote from two, Dr. N. S. Shaler, professor of geology at Harvard University, once an advocate of the Darwinian theory of evolution says: "It begins to be evident to naturalists, that the Darwinian hypothesis is still essentially unverified. Notwithstanding the evidence derived from the study of animals and plants under domestication, it is not yet proved that a single species of the two or three millions now inhabitating the earth had been established solely, or mainly by the operation of natural selection."

"Professor Arthur Keith in 'The Antiquity of Man,' speaking of the latest discovery—the Neanderthal Man, observed: 'When we come to review critically the facts relating to the earlier discoveries, made in England, France and Italy, we were compelled to admit that men of the modern type had been in existence long before the extinction of the Neanderthal type.'"

But Socialists are not to be turned back from their confidence in the novelty of Darwinism merely because twentieth-century scientists repudiate its claims. Their

mechanical theory renders them science-proof. Neither the lack of data nor the force of argument is of any avail. *"If science has departed from Socialism so much the worse for science."* Did not Marx discover the science of life? — that "mind is matter in motion"? What then care they what other people think or say. The agnostics who still question whether or not God exists are quite too pink and white for their red blood. Only in their most ideological mood is the word soul employed and then, of course, it has completely changed its meaning. In the "Evolution of Man" — a book most industriously circulated, one lecturer alone disposing of two entire editions — an appeal is made from the depths of his human "soul," since all are brothers, never to step on a beetle:

"And from the depths of the human soul, . . . still another voice whispers into my inner ear. . . . It is that other simple message which tells us: 'Thou shalt not torture any animal uselessly; thou shalt not wantonly break any flower, for they, too, are distant relations in the great flow of life, they, too, are still your brothers in the unfathomable recesses of nature. Helpless stands that flower, or that glittering little beetle before you, just like a trembling little child. But the child grows up into a man, and who knows what this flower or that beetle may become some day, or what may have become of others like them, millions of years ago!" (P. 12, William Bolsche.)

Assuming the chemical and mechanical origin of the universe: Socialism denies free will.

Blotting out free will is simple enough by their

method — dogmatism resting on desire. The stubborn facts that attest the freedom of man's will are brushed airily to one side in their desire to prove what is not so —the absence of an intelligent First Cause.

Failing first of all to distinguish between the organic and the inorganic: failing again to make the vital distinction between the animal acts and the rational acts of the individual man, Socialists argue that the free will of man postulates acts without causes. In other words they deny self-determination to the soul. And this is but carrying atheism to its logical conclusion. If, indeed, a "causeless cause" rests behind all phenomena there is, of course, no intelligent cause anywhere to be found, neither within nor without. Now this argument proves too much, for the fact of the matter is that the rational view is compelled by the human experience of all the ages to acknowledge, that within an environment where cause and effect act and react according to the reign of physical, material and animal law the human mind, at will, can interject acts free from the determination that results from mere material causes. That is to say, man is endowed by his positive art principle with the capacity to create within creation a material phenomena that is easily distinguished from the works of nature herself and, too, he is able to create a psychology that is morally good or bad. So it is against universal experience and right-reason that Socialists assert that:

"The Marxist absolutely denies the freedom of the will.

Every human action is inevitable." ("Socialism, Positive and Negative," p. 65, Robert Rives La Monte.)

"The will does not choose of itself, as was supposed by the inventors of *free will,* that product of the impotency of the psychological analysis not yet arrived at maturity." ("Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History," Antonio Labriola, p. 206.)

"The admission of the Free-will is out of the question" (Enrico Ferri).

The admission of free will certainly would be out of the question if Socialists could first blot out the existence of God, and, then, the fact of civilization itself. For the mind reasoning rightly asserts the existence of Supreme Intelligence and the fact of civilization proves human intelligence in the construction of every city and town where within certain limits free choice is shown. Enrico Ferri proceeds:

"Free will would imply that the human will, confronted by the choice of making voluntary a certain determination, has the last decisive word under the pressure of circumstances contending for and against this decision: . . ." (P. 65, "The Positive School of Criminology," Chicago, 1913.)

The retort scientific is — it has! It may be left to Robert Blatchford to put their fatalistic doctrine into the mouth of the soap-boxer to be passed on with speed to the army of the Revolution:

"If our heredity and our environment be good, we must act well, we cannot help it; if they be ill, we must act ill, we cannot help it. Suppose a tramp has murdered a child on the highway, has robbed her of a few coppers and has thrown her body into a ditch: Do you mean to say that

tramp could not help doing that? Do you mean he is not to blame — not to be punished? Yes, I mean to say all these things and if all of these things are not true, this book is not worth the paper it is written on." ("Not Guilty.")

Yet, since "Not Guilty" wears the habit of a man and uses rational words, he should be expected to know that the words good, bad and true have no significance if men have not the choice of being *true* or false to the law of their being — the choice of being *good* or bad.

Socialism Denies the Marriage Bond

Here we come to the crux of the whole subject-matter under observation — for the dissolution of civilization is the price of Socialism — of Bolshevism. At length, after all these Protestant years since the blasting of the marriage bond became the *cause* of a state religion by human will established, it is now alleged that a scientific sanction has been formed for a "free society."

Just as one lie leads to another in bolstering up a bad cause, so one social assault upon the moral constitution of civil society leads to another, in the attempt to maintain the corrupt position at first taken. It is, then, clear enough that those who would give license free reign over law, with headlong course should run to their goal — the death of decency. So it is not until the Socialist attack upon private property has been pushed home to its source that it is seen for what it essentially is — the point at which to stab human society in its vitals. Once the vast majority of the units that go to make up the Commonwealth shall have been disrupted,

it is certain that civilization were sick unto death. Yet, it is as certain that one guard may be employed by a nation — and one only — a return to the Ark of the Covenant. For God made these twain one flesh by the bond of marriage and He established the right of private property for the secure maintenance of the family.

Socialism Asserts Sex Freedom

Socialist " science " reverses the will of God and gives to private property the rôle of setting up the *bad* practise of one man one wife. In " The Origin of the Family " — a classic that is accepted by all of the authoritative Bolshevist writers the world over — the *economic origin* of the family usurps the place of the family of divine origin. The book was written out by Friedrich Engels from notes left by Karl Marx. The argument runs its course to the proposed emancipation of women. Not, however, without the self-same inconsistencies that perforce accompany their every phase of doctrine. " The modern monogamous family " came into existence from the fact that in the earlier period of the struggle for existence the man being the stronger — for no known reason — naturally held a superior economic position. Following up this advantage over the woman, she was held in subjection at the pleasure of the male until the practise gradually became somewhat general. For some unknown reason, men were caused by their desire to favor their own offspring by bequests of property at death. Thus the accumulation of wealth, in the days of primitive production, laid the foundation for our

present "capitalist society"; within which we are but cogs in an economic wheel that moves everybody along with it in spite of ourselves. The reason being that we are not yet sufficiently class conscious to throw off the right of private property, together with the rest of our obligations under the Ten Commandments.

However, the argument proceeds to a climax, near at hand. Since the means of producing the necessities of living are now so highly developed that woman's work is very nearly, if not quite, as efficient as man's work, the conclusion is absolute that the period in time is now upon us for the introduction — by fate — of economic equality and with it comes the emancipation of woman from the burdens of the family, while, of course, the man is scotfree.

Great is Diana! Because Socialism embraces the whole philosophy of life, minus a heavenly home, it will, forsooth, have no marriages on earth. It's all very well for Christians to talk of the individual being the unit of the society in the Kingdom of God and of the family being the unit of the society on earth, but since Socialists deny tribute to Cæsar there shall be no families on earth.

The transition is staged to take place upon "*the introduction of the whole female sex into the public industries.*" ("The Origin of the Family," p. 89.) The consequence is certainly momentous: —"*With the transformation of the means of production into collective property the monogamous family ceases to be the economic unit of society.*" No doubt about it for this

dogma rests upon the *ipse dixit* of Engels and Marx. Socialists know just *what* will happen if not just *when*. Are not Engels and Marx the men and is not Rosa the woman who from the preeminence of the class-conscious have scaled the dizzy heights of race-consciousness, before all others? To be sure, Engels and Marx are long since dead, but Rosa, poor Rosa, the mob has just taken her life. So it shall be that from the degrading economic dependence of her home — the very throne of the mother — women en masse shall be sometime free to tend a modern machine instead of the baby. For the care and education of "legal and illegal" (p. 91) children become a public matter.

There is, indeed, some doubt as to what manner of man the race shall become with the purely animal instinct of sex love as the one and only condition of mating and parting. But, at all events this is the method by which the race shall arrive at the freedom-well of the super-men. They have no need nor no longing to go home. At any rate,

"A positive cessation of fondness or its replacement by a new passionate love makes a separation a blessing for both parties and for society. But, humanity will be spared the useless wading through the mire of a divorce (court) case." ("Origin of the Family," p. 99.)

Really it is so simple — no marriage, no divorce. We should be entirely willing to await developments. To quote:

"What we may anticipate about the adjustment of sexual relations after the impending downfall of capitalist produc-

tion is mainly of a negative nature and mostly confined to elements that will disappear. But what will be added? That will be decided after a new generation has come to maturity: . . ." ("Origin of the Family," p. 109.)

Socialists Advocate Free Love

Socialist philosophy regarding the relation of the sexes is not a mere speculation as to future conduct and results. It has a practical application as to the violation of the Christian law of marriage here and now and a quarrel with the binding force of the legal tie. No one of the great international authorities has stated the case more frankly than the distinguished Englishman, Ernest Belfort Bax. To quote:

"A man may justly reject the dominant sexual morality: he may condemn the monogamic marriage-system which obtains to-day; he may claim the right of free union between men and women; he may contend he is perfectly at liberty to join himself, either temporarily or permanently, with a woman; and that the mere legal form of marriage has no binding force for him." ("Outlooks from a New Standpoint," p. 114.)

This is the cold and cruel craft of a brilliant mind gone wrong. Its appeal is to the vicious judgments of men, inducing them to throw off their marital obligations on the ground of animal freedom. Utterly renouncing the duty of self-purity in the man; utterly repudiating the right of the wife in the one flesh of these twain; utterly ignoring the right of organized society that its units shall be kept sound in the interest

of public, moral and physical health. This is bad enough! But, the lurid warmth of the appeals to women for a generous self-sacrifice is much more telling in the corruption of the family. The *New York Call* (Oct. 20, 1918) in its home section, "Woman's Page," urges women themselves to throw off religious restraints and conventions in the interest of economic, political and social freedom. The matter is taken from Edward Carpenter's "Love's Coming of Age" (Chicago, 1903). Here is the call to universal death and damnation. God forbid a response thereto!

"There is no solution, except in the freedom of woman — which means, of course, also the freedom of the masses of the people, men and women, and the ceasing altogether of economic slavery. There is no solution which will not include the redemption of the terms 'free woman' and 'free love' to their true and rightful significance. Let every woman whose heart bleeds for the sufferings of her sex hasten to declare herself, and to constitute herself, as far as she possibly can, a free woman. Let her accept the term with all the odium that belongs to it; let her insist on her right to speak, dress, think, act, and, above all, to use her sex as she deems best; let her face the scorn and ridicule; let her 'lose her own life,' if she like; assured that only so can come deliverance, and that only when the free woman is honored will the prostitute cease to exist."

Socialism Promotes Easy Divorce

In their dramas, novels, short stories and in their so-called scientific works, from their professorial chairs, from their lecture halls and on the street corners Socialists have outrun every other evil force in the world that

makes for easy divorce. But, when their speaking is official, in the ward-room, the Legislature, the halls of Congress, their vote follows their talk in favor of any and every measure that would lessen the integrity of the state. Where, for the nonce, the Socialist majority — the Bolsheviki — are in political control, the license to deny marital obligation, at will, is enacted into the statutes. Let us set forth the proof in their own words of class-conscious confidence:

"The dissolution of the marriage relation will become as purely a personal and private affair as is the assumption of the relation now." ("Puritanism," Clarence Meily, p. 133.)

Philip Rappaport is presumed to be an expert upon this phase of Socialism. In "Looking Forward"— a very popular setting forth of the doctrine so ponderously promulgated in "The Origin of the Family" — the soap-boxers find their arguments in language that they can convey to the audience that run together on the street corners:

"Moral or religious scruples against divorce generally should not prevail. These are matters of conscience entirely foreign to the nature of a valid civil contract, and entirely within the province of individual judgment." ("Looking Forward," p. 119.)

Here may be seen the principle of private judgment no longer in its green but in its rotten ripe fruit. To continue:

"Divorce, although always an individual problem, would not be a social problem at all, if it were not made one by superstition, bigotry and intolerance." ("Looking Forward," p. 133.)

Reason here is truly fled to brutish beasts, as one cannot touch the subject of divorce save the rights of parents are brought into personal conflict relative to the mutual privileges and obligations one has vested in the other. It was no mere sentimental boast, but rather a profound understanding of the human constitution, that Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Portia:

> "With leave, Bassanio; I am half yourself,
> And I must freely have the half of anything
> That this same paper brings you."

Then, too, divorce is a family, rather than an individual, question, relative to the natural right of the children to the care and command of their parents, before they attain to the use of free-will. Moreover, divorce is a social question, since a conflict necessarily ensues between the authority of parents and the authority of organized society. Parental authority over their children, being conditioned upon life itself, is prior to the authority of the commonwealth over its citizens. Consequently parents have no natural right to abrogate their authority in favor of the state nor has the state the social right to usurp the authority to care for and command these children. Obviously, again, the state has not the moral right to give over the children to the one or the other of their parents, since the children have

the right to the joint care of both their parents. The conclusion is rational — divorce acts against the natural rights of the individual, the family and organized society by breaking up the stability of the marriage bond.

Yet, after all, it is not so much right argument that is needed to overcome Socialist propaganda when it takes on the sentimental phase as it is that sense of purity that abhors what is evil. Chastity is not so much in reason as in emotion. Not so much in right-thought about God as in right-relation with God. However, it seems necessary to permit Socialists to bespeak their own subversive doctrine relative to family purity.

"If the marriage-tie could be easily dissolved, there would be an unceasing endeavor to keep alive the holy flame of love once existing, and the blissful state of wooing would never come to an end. I am firmly of the opinion that the best means to accomplish a reduction in the number of divorces is to make divorce very easy." ("Looking Forward," p. 12.)

"In their chapter 'Socialism Triumphant' William Morris and Ernest Belfort Bax (joint authors 'Socialism: Its Growth and Outcome,' Chicago, 1909, p. 226) resume that under Socialism 'a new development of the family would take place, on the basis, not of a predetermined life-long business arrangement, to be formally and nominally held to irrespective of circumstances, but on mutual inclination and affection, an association terminable at the will of either party.'"

Speaking of the "liberal" divorce laws, for which the Socialists fought unitedly in the Chamber of

Deputies, Jean Jaures (*"New York Independent"* August 20, 1908) is quoted, saying:

"They were free to make the marriage and should in the same way be free to unmake it. In fact, just as the will of one of the parties could have prevented the marriage, so the will of one should be able to end it. The power to annul should, of course, be all the stronger when both parties desire it."

After some forty-odd years of restless propaganda theory has passed into fact. In Russia the Bolsheviki, as the Socialists are popularly called, have, alas, come into their own. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic has enacted legislation for that most distracted country. *The Decree of Divorce* issued by the *Council of Peoples Commissaires,* Section No. 1, reads *"Divorce shall be granted upon application made by either or both parties."*

From the foregoing citations it should be certain that Socialism prosecutes its scheme with determination against the very heartbeat of civil society. Nor should this be a wonder — that rebellion against the whole order of creation should run to the extreme limit of its evil power in the destruction and corruption of human society. One more quotation from this enemy of God and men shall suffice to set forth their standards and their purpose that finds its only sanction in the shifty sands of blind force.

"Socialist philosophy proves conclusively that the realization of the positive political and economic ideals of socialism

involves the atrophy of Religion, the metamorphosis of the Family and the Suicide of the State." ("Socialism Positive and Negative," p. 89.)

Since it is before the bar of God's justice that all human schemes, good and bad, receive their acid test — it is to the Pope that we shall go for those standards relative to the family from which mankind may not depart with impunity.

"Truly it is hardly possible to describe how great are the evils that flow from divorce. Matrimonial contracts are by it made variable; mutual kindness is weakened; deplorable inducements to unfaithfulness are supplied; harm is done to the education and training of children; occasion is afforded for the breaking up of homes; the seeds of dissension are sown among families; the dignity of womanhood is lessened and brought low, and women run the risk of being deserted after having ministered to the pleasures of man. Since, then, nothing has such power to lay waste families and destroy the mainstay of kingdoms as the corruption of morals, it is easily seen that divorces are in the highest degree hostile to the prosperity of families and States, springing as they do from the depraved morals of the people, and, as experience shows us, opening out a way to every kind of evil doing in public alike and in private life.

"The constant and watchful care of the Church in guarding marriage, by the preservation of its sanctity, is so well understood as not to need proof. That the judgment of the Council of Jerusalem reprobated licentious and free love (Acts xv, 29), we all know; as also that the incestuous Corinthian was condemned by the authority of blessed Paul (I Cor. v, 5). Again, in the very beginning of the Christian Church were repulsed and defeated, with the like unremitting determination, the efforts of many who aimed at the

destruction of Christian marriage, such as the Gnostics, Manicheans, and Montanists; and in our own time, Mormons, St. Simonians, Phalansterians, and Communists.

"In like manner, moreover, a law of marriage just to all, and the same for all, was enacted by the abolition of the old distinction between slaves and free-born men and women; and thus the rights between husbands and wives were made equal; for, as St. Jerome says, 'with us that which is unlawful for women is unlawful for men also, and the same restraint is imposed on equal conditions.' The self-same rights also were firmly established for reciprocal affection and for the interchange of duties; the dignity of the woman was asserted and assured; and it was forbidden to the man to inflict capital punishment for adultery, or lustfully and shamelessly to violate his plighted faith.

"It is also a great blessing that the Church has limited, as far as is needful the power of fathers of families, so that sons and daughters wishing to marry are not in any way deprived of their rightful freedom; that, for the purpose of spreading more widely the supernatural love of husbands and wives, she has decreed marriages within certain degrees of consanguinity or affinity to be null and void; that she has taken the greatest pains to safeguard marriage, as much as possible, from error and violence and deceit; that she has always wished to preserve the holy chasteness of the marriage bed, personal rights, the honor of husband and wife, and the security of religion.

"Lastly, with such power and with such foresight of legislation has the Church guarded this divine institution, that no one who thinks rightly of these matters can fail to see how, with regard to marriage, she is the best guardian and defender of the human race; and how withal her wisdom has come forth victorious from the lapse of years, from the assaults of men, and from the countless changes of public events." ("Christian Marriage," Pope Leo XIII.)

III

PATRIOTISM

PATRIOTISM? That all-embracing motive that unites the natural virtues in a supreme love for the body-politic as a moral entity: That civic passion from which proceeds devoted service to one's country in times of peace: That self-sacrifice that prompts one to give his all for his home-land in times of war. So it is that within the scope of Pagan glory, patriotism stands full orbed. Heroic deeds done for love of country ever count first above all earthly gifts of wealth, honor, power or fame. Men born of such mothers as Volumnia hold above all earthly treasure — above all earthly joy — the gift of one's blood for one's country.

Volumnia —"I tell thee, daughter, I spring not more in joy at first hearing he was a man-child than now in first seeing he had proved himself a man."

Virgilia —"But had he died in the business, madam; how then?"

Volumnia —"Then his good report should have been my son; I therein would have found issue. Hear me profess sincerely: had I a dozen sons, each in my love alike and none less dear than thine and my good Marcius, I had rather had eleven die nobly for their country than one voluptuously surfeit out of action."

Virgilia —"His bloody brow! O Jupiter, no blood!"

Volumnia —"Away, you fool! It more becomes a man

than gilt his trophy; the breasts of Hecuba, when she did suckle Hector, looked not lovelier than Hector's forehead when it spit forth blood at Grecian sword, contemning."

But when to the natural virtue of patriotism Religion lends her vision, men arise and sign a pledge with David:

"If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand be forgotten. Let my tongue cleave to my jaws if I do not remember thee: If I make not Jerusalem the beginning of my joy. (Psalm 136.)

Even in the exalted mood of patriotism, David tempers his pledge — Jerusalem shall be the *beginning* of his joy since God is the end, the completion of all joy. Thus it is a very practical matter of every-day duty to inculcate the virtue of patriotism and to practise it, since God is the Maker of Man and the Author of Nations.

The Catholic Church has ever held her children in duty bound to cherish and to love the country in which they live and receive such enjoyments as this mortal life affords. Pope Leo XIII — *"On the Chief Duties of Christians as Citizens"* — places patriotism as a strict obligation, natural and supernatural. Thus at once is separated and united the domain of Cæsar, to whom we must pay tribute, with our duty towards God:

"The natural law enjoins us to love devotedly and to defend the country in which we had birth, and in which we were brought up, so that every good citizen hesitates

not to face death for his native land." (Encyclical Letter, Jan. 10, 1890.)

Accepting, then, the principle that patriotism of the highest flame is motived by religion, we may logically expect as we run down to lesser faith to find lesser patriotism in those "after-Christians" who have replaced Catholicism with a sort of natural religion. But when we shall have come down to the perversity of a materialistic philosophy, there, indeed, patriotism is altogether excluded, for it has no support in natural law or in supernatural sanction. Yet, withal, God is not mocked — for men are men.

Love of country finds no place in the philosophy of Socialist doctrinaires. Patriotism is a sentiment cultivated by the bourgeoisie in their own interest and so of no binding force. Adherents to modern class-struggle are guided by "The Socialist Declaration of Independence" — *The Communist Manifesto* — given to the world by Karl Marx and Frederich Engels in 1848. This Manifesto by a method of negation prompts its advocates to unpatriotic thought and action. To quote: *"The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got"* is its argument in answer to the proposition that *"The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationalities."* The document proceeds to make it certain that it is the world supremacy of the proletariat that is the aim, to which the Manifesto is the guide. This view holds sway the world over with the followers

of the red flag. "Aside from its historic and political significance, the Communist Manifesto will remain a conspicuous monument in the literature of the world; as long as thoughts possess a sense and words have a sound" (Editor "*Die Gleichbert,*" the *Radical Review,* N. Y., July, 1917).

However democratic the form of government, their revolutionary aim is ever in view — *The World for the Workers.* Socialists in our own country are no exception. *The Communist Manifesto* dominates the party policy of the Socialist and the Socialist Labor parties of the United States. Eugene V. Debs, four times presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, during an address in Tremont Temple, Boston (Oct. 26, 1915) scorned the very idea of patriotism in the working class!

"Talk about men of Europe fighting for patriotism and love of their country? The workingman in any part of the world never had a country to fight for."

The Socialist Labor Party, never in the rear as to revolutionary pronouncements, makes its voice heard through Arthur E. Reimer —Candidate for President — in a "Working-Class Message on Preparedness" (The *Weekly People,* N. Y., Dec. 25, 1915).

"At the risk of being called traitors the Socialist Labor Party does not consider any country under capitalist rule worthy of defense. We say, and we say without fear of contradiction and in the face of the opposition that naturally will confront the Socialist Labor Party, that there is no country, including the United States, a capitalist country, that is worthy of the working class spilling its blood for it."

Only a few days later than this Christmas Day repudiation of loyalty to their country the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party (Jan. 2, 1916) passed a resolution endorsing the sentiments of its presidential nominee. It was officially declared:

"The working class should not consider any country under capitalist rule worthy of defense no matter what the circumstance may be."

This were quite enough to prove that the Marxian dogma — "Workingmen have no country" — is relied upon by both Socialist parties as the solid ground for treasonable utterance. Yet, we shall, from a mass of evidence select additional matter taken from a critique of John Spargo relative to the St. Louis Emergency Convention by the Socialist party leaders. This convention sent out its report against the participation of our country in the European war and "mass action" was threatened against our government. Mr. Spargo was a member of "The Committee on War and Militarism." Objecting to the "Majority Report" Mr. Spargo says of his former comrades:

"At least six members expressed themselves as being utterly opposed to any action by the workers in defense of the nation: 'The workers have no country; it is a capitalist's country, whether they are governed by Czar Nicholas or Woodrow Wilson, or whether the government is republican or monarchial, is a matter of complete indifference to the class-conscious workers,' 'Suppose we were invaded by Germany or by Mexico, why should we care? Instead of fighting them we should welcome the invaders as our brothers' —

these statements which I wrote down at the time fairly indicate the point of view of the most influential element in the Committee. Later, the spokesman of the group fought for hours against the use of such phrases as 'our government' consistently adhering to their theory that the working-class can have no country and no government. They opposed the inclusion in the program of action specific collectivist measures, on the ground that such measures would, if adopted, 'help the capitalists to win the war.' They opposed the inclusion of a proposal to work for the humanitarian treatment of prisoners and the observance of lawful and humane methods of war, on the ground that such action would 'make war more tolerable.'" ("Americanism and Social Democracy," N. Y., 1918, pp. 280–281.)

Surely, these then comrades of Mr. Spargo gave strict adhesion to the doctrine of the Communist Manifesto. What was Socialism in times of peace should, to them, be Socialism in times of war. But to Mr. Spargo this was a time "when a fella needs a friend." So being anxious to take Marx with him out of the Socialist Party since his own war sentiments were almost unanimously outvoted, Mr. Spargo ascribes to Marx's youthful enthusiasm his 1847 declaration that "workingmen have no country." He argues that later in life Marx "advocated policies which implied the abandonment of his youthful generalizations." Assuming this to be a correct view — for which we see no substantial evidence whatsoever — the fact remains that, save here and there, a man has seceded from this time-worn treason, the party followers of Marx, especially in our own country, have abandoned not one iota of their antipatriotic attitude towards integral nations. Capitalism

is world-wide, ergo Socialism shall be world-wide! This issue has ever served as the touchstone that distinguishes *reform* from *revolution,*— the Socialist from the reformer.

However, far be it from our purpose to insist upon the consistency of Socialists towards their doctrines. This were utterly impossible since their principles are void of a rational foundation, while men are perforce rational beings. Operating from a false premise as to human nature their acts are, at times, necessarily at variance with their doctrine. Their philosophy denies free-will but since Socialists are gifted by God with a rational nature, they are sure to operate upon the assumption that free-will is an attribute of human nature. They affect to reject reform altogether, but their "present demands" are largely made up of measures taken from reform platforms. Again, Socialists raise up their voices in favor of self-determination of India, not because they would admit that Indian workmen have a country, but as a means of propaganda against England — a capitalist government.

Whether or not Marx penned his shibboleth against patriotism in the unreasoning exuberance of youth, the Socialist party still adheres to its treasonable intention:

"As an American Socialist party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international Socialism, as embodied in the thought and action of the Socialists of all nations. The chief significance of all national boundaries, and of so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to

keep the workers of the world from uniting and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit." (Chicago Platform.)

This international pledge — to carry into practise the dogma that *workmen have no country* — was kept by many who held elective office in national assemblies. Karl Liebknecht's "lone vote" was accounted an heroic act, since in obedience to the mandate of the International Socialist Congresses he had voted against the war credits. Eugene V. Debs sings his praise editorally:

"*When Karl Liebknecht stood up in the German reichstag, solitary and alone, even among his own Socialist colleagues, and voted against the war credit of five billion marks* to prolong the international butchery which has been going on these past several months, *he proved himself a true representative of the Socialist movement* and a genuine revolutionary hero worthy of the commendation of Socialists throughout the world." ("Rip Saw," St. Louis, Feb., 1915.)

This same dogma was strictly obeyed by Ramsey MacDonald when he "*opposed in Parliament the inflation of British armaments, as all members are pledged to do in their respective countries.*" *(London Socialist Review.)* So, too, was this dogma enacted by more than one thousand members of the Independent Labor Party in England, who in consequence were put behind the bars during the war. It was this underlying assumption that all government must be broken down in favor

of working class rule that caused the revolt of Lenine and Trotsky against a legitimate Constituent Assembly in Russia: That urged on the Socialist conspiracy to break down the morale of the Italian Army that brought about the disaster at Caporetto: That, no doubt, tempted Frederich Adler to murder the Prime Minister of Austria. It was this degraded view — that "working men have no country" bred in the bone of Jean Longuet — a grandson of Karl Marx — which led him to oppose self-defense of France. In our own Congress, Meyer London, has the unenviable record of refusing to vote for army and navy appropriations after our country entered the world war in the interest of democratic government.

Reasoning rightly the internationalism proposed by Socialists is not what the true sense of the word connotes. The term assumes a relationship between two or more integral bodies of men. That is to say the moral integrity of nations is recognized by the fact of the relationship that binds them together either in law or in action whereas the view of a world society held by Socialists blots out individual nations. It were more to the point to insist that Socialism is anti-national rather than inter-national. Indeed, it may be seen that in doctrine and in practise Socialism is national only in the sense that it makes use of governments to break down nations; for it is within national limits that economic classes are permitted to exist and defended by public opinion, law and force. Their inflated and distended vision takes in a one-class administration of this

world's economic goods; and the means to this dizzy objective is a proletarian dictatorship in country after country until a classless society of economic equality may take on world proportions. To quote the *Communist Manifesto* on this point:

"The workingmen have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. *Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class in the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word.*"

Brought down to the concrete it is clear that Socialism is national only so far as it makes use of the instruments of a given country — its press, platform, election machinery, its popular opinion, etc., to gain "political supremacy" that it may further a world-wide revolution.

"Shall we place the integrity and safety of this fatherland created by the bourgeoisie over the interests of the international Socialist revolution?"

is the question scornfully asked by Nikolai Lenin, Prime Minister of Russia, in his Moscow Communication of Aug. 20, 1918, in his defense for the signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty. His action is his answer — No.

In the nature of things, Socialists are obliged to carry on their propaganda within the confines of existing States. But evidence is manifold that it seeks to make the state "*die out.*" This being so a necessary con-

clusion is that Socialist parties are not political parties in any proper sense of the word. Their object is not to carry on the affairs of the nation — not to reform the methods of government for the good of the Commonwealth; their object is frankly treasonable — the overthrow of civil society, which they dub the "Capitalist State."

The St. Louis Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party (April, 1917) declared:

"The Social revolution not political office is the end and aim of the Socialist Party. No compromise, no political trading."

The World War put the human nature of the Socialist to the touchstone, the virtue of patriotism being the issue. Then it was that the natural love of country flared up in the breasts of Socialists who had forgotten their God and had for years dabbled in treason. Many men who used to be Revolutionary Socialists lined up with the governments of their country; voted the war credits and accepted executive positions of great responsibility, quite contrary to the mandates of the International Socialist Congress that they had sworn to defend. So it is that by the scourge of war God brings men back to a sense of their duty to Cæsar as Christ our Lord whipped those who traded in the Temple into a sense of their duty towards Jehovah — their Father in Heaven.

For instance Emile Vandervelde, Chairman of the Socialist Bureau, having in charge the affairs of the *second red international,* came to our country as an

especial envoy of the King of Belgium. During his mission in America, Vandervelde kept deliberately away from association with his fellow Socialists here, much to their chagrin. Yet, during this time, over in Belgium his comrades were singing L'International:

The International Party
Shall be the human race!

Notwithstanding, they were firing bullets into their German comrades.

In France, Jules Guesde and Marcel Sembat accepted portfolios in the Cabinet of Briand and Millerand: both of whom had previously been driven out of the Socialist party because they had accepted positions in "a bourgeois government."

Scheidemann and his fellow Deputies, with one exception, turned their backs upon their time-tried propaganda shibboleth — *Not a man and not a dollar for military purposes* — and lined up with the Kaiser — voting the war budgets. The exception was Liebknecht. Later he headed the Spartacus group — those who were Internationalists first and Germans afterwards. Mr. Scheidemann defended himself and his followers in a letter to the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (Socialist daily, Sept. 10, 1914): *"We Social Democrats have not ceased to be Germans because we joined the Socialist International."*

But the sacrifice of nationality is precisely the price that Socialist principles exact from every comrade — that he shall leave his homeland and make the world

his country. Hence the retort is apt: You ceased to be Germans when you joined the International — you ceased to be International when you responded to the call of the German fatherland. When you depart from the teaching of Marx you cease to be Socialists. So, in fact, it was that the great Social Democratic Party of Germany renounced the *Revolution* for *Reform.* Surely the mills of God grind slowly — but at length the grist comes out in favor of the nature of man — in favor of common sense. When a man with malice aforethought chooses the world for his country, he becomes an outlaw,— a man without a country, a traitor to his government,— a man deliberately outside the moral constitution of human society,— a recreant to his race, for the race is made up of nations. This is simple common sense, for God gave man his nature and the nations of the earth are by Him established. Because of the protection of the State the rights of men are maintained and their duties done.

No, those Socialists who rediscovered their patriotism, in whatsoever country, were not let off easily by their sometime comrades in the International. It was the same in the countries of the Allies and in America as it was within the central empires, wrath was freely expressed. The *American Socialist,* official organ of Socialist Party (Chicago, Dec. 12, 1914) vents forth its bitter woe through the pen of Oscar Ameringer — lecturer and pamphleteer:

"A tidal wave of patriotism swept the countries, and tore the best and clearest heads into the mad rush. German

Socialists shouted 'Hoch der Kaiser.' Herve, the unterrified foe of war yelled 'Vive le Czar'; Sambat and Guesde joined the French cabinet with Millerand the Renegade. Vandervelde becomes royal minister and peddles atrocity tales in England and America without finding time to call on a single prominent comrade on his journey and without visiting the headquarters of the party in a neutral country, as happened here in Chicago. Gorki, Maeterlinck, Hauptmann, Wells, Sudermann, Anatole France, Kropotkin, Haeckel turn violent patriots."

The conclusion, here, should be that it was just because these men had the "best and clearest heads" amongst the Socialist groups, that they came back to sanity, by rendering unto Cæsar what is due to Cæsar, since each man in his respective country obeyed his country's mandate. However, it was left for John R. McMahon — who has written extensively for party press — to come a little nearer to the issue. In strict conformity with his false philosophy he reverses the order of things natural, by making the return of the prodigal son a crime. To quote:

"Socialism in Europe is guilty of a monstrous crime. It has swallowed its principles, spat upon brotherhood, betrayed the class it professes to represent, everlastingly disgraced the red banner of internationalism. It has surrendered to the enemy; it has joined with enthusiastic abandon the capitalistic and dynastic butchers who are turning Europe into a people's killing bed.

"These are severe charges for a Socialist to make against Socialists. I make them, and I know that hundreds of my comrades in this country are making them in their hearts, though they may not have yet publicly expressed them.

"Troelstra, leader of the Dutch Socialists, says that after the war the international movement will have to be reconstructed. He is right. Socialism will have to vivisect from itself its shining apostles in many lands — Vandervelde of Belgium, Guesde of France, several Englishmen and Austrians, Deputy Haase and a large number of his fellow Judases masquerading as Socialists in the German Reichstag. And the rank and file of the Socialist army must be purged of perhaps half its members, who are perfectly good patriots and butchers with a sickly tendency toward reform.

"All our news from Europe is censored. Is it not possible that cunning military authorities have invented the patriotic spasms of Gustave Hervé, the fatherland drivel of Germany, the motherland whine of England, and that appeal of German Socialists (God save the name!) to Italian and Dutch comrades to "come on in, the blood is fine"? Let us assume that these things have been invented, that the military authorities are writing and publishing the Socialist newspapers and Socialist manifestos of Europe. Assume so much, and yet we can hardly doubt the equally monstrous facts that Vandervelde, a leader of the international party, took a job in the war cabinet of Belgium, that Jules Guesde, the once venerable revolutionist of France, became a war minister of the French republic, and that English Socialism's best word to the combatants (excepting Keir Hardie's stalwart but vain protest) has been to use the bayonet on our foreign comrades — gently.

"Millions who had been singing

The International Party
Shall be the human race!

took up the refrain of 'Deutschland über Alles!' 'Allons, enfants de la Patrie!' and 'God Save the King!'" (*Independent*, N. Y., Oct. 12, 1914.)

From another element in the melting-pot of Socialism we select a statement from a prominent writer — William Morris Feigenbaum. (*New York Call,* June 4, 1916.)

"Internationalism is a structure that we strove long and manfully to build up. Internationalism was a structure that meant much to millions. But the time of war came. The trumpet blew. The flag waved. The cheap and shoddy Emperor made a claptrap speech about the sword being forced into his hand. And millions of Socialist voters goose-stepped after Hindenburg, as if they had never considered themselves Comrades of the French and the Belgians and the English! And the French and the Russians and the Austrians were as bad."

With the exception of a few leaders, here, who, under the pressure of loyalty to country, resigned from party membership, the entire body of the organized Socialist movement of the United States was hostile to the "war Socialists" of Europe. A vigorous propaganda was initiated to hold American Socialists back to the treasonable principles of the International as against the natural promptings of love and duty that calls sound men to the defense of their country and so gives them that heroic distinction that all delight to honor.

As it began to appear certain that our country would enter the conflict, the *New York Call* offered prizes for the best terse statements "concerning war and the Socialist attitude towards it." Evidently many men put despicable words on paper in answer to the *Call's* request for a terse statement of what in the nature of

things must prove to be disloyalty. Charles A. Maurer, editor of the *Reading* (Pa.) *Labor Advocate* was found to have filled the *Call's* highest expectations and so won the first prize for his answer:

"In the event of sudden declaration of war against this country what should the Socialists do?

"Answer: If war should be declared by this country, then the Socialists should refuse and advise all workers to refuse to enlist and fight conscription to the last ditch. Also agitate strikes in industries everywhere." (*New York Call*, June 26, 1916.)

It was so long a time since God had been in fashion with the governments of the world that Socialists were surprised to find that patriotism should have so much blood. They had persuaded a multitude of men to abandon the thought and the practise of religion; to deny the family as a moral entity; to deny the hope of justice to the working class so long as the state defended the right of private property in productive capital; to deny even the integrity of nations — that it was their confident assumption that within their camp patriotism was dead.

But, when the war drum sounded that ever-living principle was found stirring to action even in the breasts of their materialistically minded comrades; then, it was that every effort must be put forward for killing the "Patriotic bee" that was buzzing in the workman's bonnet. Thus it was so much the extension of their propaganda as the saving of their own force that occupied the movement for a time. In answer to the ac-

cusation that Socialism undermines patriotism the *New York Call* boasts:

"So it does, and is proud of it, if by patriotism is meant that mawkish sentiment which causes a man for the sum of $15 a month to get out and get himself killed in defense of a country of which he owns not a single foot and can never hope to own any. If a wage slave is paid only enough to live on anyhow, what difference to him does it make whether his boss is a Britisher or a Chinaman?" (Sept. 25, 1912.)

But the accusation stands! As patriotism is not a "mawkish sentiment" nor is it a part of patriotism to live contentedly as a "wage-slave." Besides, whether or not a man owns land — and many of our best citizens are not land owners, it is his privilege and his duty to aid in forming a correct public opinion, by a defense of his faith and his fatherland. Moreover, he may so place his vote as to be sure that his convictions will be wrought out into the warp and woof of a good government. It is all a matter of right-thinking and of courageous action in this our own free land.

In the Anti-Military edition of the *World* (Socialist Weekly, Oakland, California, Vol. 2, p. 181) Selig Schulberg avers:

"The Socialist must understand that as long as a wage slave has a patriotic bee buzzing in his bonnet, he is in no shape to understand what is meant by International Socialism.

"It is our imperative duty to murder the patriotic bees, and the sooner we accomplish this the sooner will this and

the coming generation of mankind enjoy the entire product of their toil."

It has long been the Socialist policy to pull down the honor of those great patriots who spent their fortune and their blood that lovers of liberty might here build up a nation free from oppression and greed. From two of their foremost authorities we shall take testimony:

"No part of American history has been so completely buried beneath a mish-mash of patriotism and humbug as the Revolution of 1776.

"A very superficial examination of the annals of this period will reveal evidence enough to show that, even according to orthodox historians, the 'fathers of their country' were a rather select circle of smugglers and land thieves." (Arthur Morrow Lewis, "Vital Problems of Social Evolution," pp. 92–93.)

Ernest Unterman says:

"An American workingman who celebrates the fourth of July is like a French workingman who celebrates the 18th Brumaire of Napoleon Bonaparte, or a Russian workingman who celebrates the victory of the Romanoffs. He is celebrating the victory of his oppressors" (p. 128). Mr. Unterman declares that Washington was a liar and a thief (p. 116); Jefferson, Franklin and Hamilton, unscrupulous land grabbers (p. 117); Lafayette a haughty aristocrat (p. 118); Steuben a despot and Hancock a smuggler (p. 117, "The World's Revolutions," Ernest Unterman).

In practise as in theory Socialist leaders insist, as against the force of common sense, in carrying out the

teachings of their masters — Marx and Engels. The recent action of the Socialist members of the New York Board of Aldermen in voting for the Victory Arch — in honor of the soldiers who so loyally and valiantly defended the honor of our country and our flag — under Generals Foch and Pershing — at first glance seems to be an exception. It is not! These unlucky wights, who in a fit of stupor voted for the Victory Arch, were haled before a joint meeting of the six Central Committees of the Socialist Party of Greater New York, assembled in the People's House to review the work of their seven aldermen. Their apology is as ludicrous as it is pitiful:

"Personally," said Alderman Algernon Lee, "I can say that no greater favor can be done me than by relieving me of my job as alderman. It is hard, unpleasant work, and there is other Socialist work that I would far rather do. I will say, for me and all my colleagues, that we all heartily regret that vote as a vote for something that tends to inculcate a chauvinistic and jingo spirit; and if it had not been for the circumstance that the vote was sprung on us in a minute, without warning, and that I, for one was fagged out, that I had been 36 hours without sleep, that I was in a daze, I assure you that I for one would have voted no, and would have told the Comrades to do likewise."

It surely is a satisfaction to note that under the influence of well poised men those of unbalanced thought come back to the normal. Even as these Socialist aldermen, who, by a long course of perverse reasoning and teaching believe themselves to be fully persuaded

that the self-sacrifice and heroic courage of patriots is the means of inculcating "a chauvinistic and jingo spirit," are cured for the nonce of treason.

There is no doubt that many a man striving to uphold the natural virtues for love of country is now well aware that the vicious propaganda of Socialism in our country — in all countries — is cause for positive alarm. He, too, though from a very different point of view, needs to get more than an occasional glimpse of that safe and sound state of the truly Catholic mind. Yet, merely a glimpse gives such an one pause. The wonder grows! Is it after all the truth that Almighty God has given into the keeping of the Catholic hierarchy of the world — under the headship of the Pope of Rome — the known cure for national evils? So the case stands! *Help us, Lord, or we perish!* But it is true. Honest men have but to see for themselves that the Church has set forth the practical application of the Ten Commandments to every-day life within the scope of civil society. Besides, there are sane examples of the brotherhood of man — here and there — within industry and commerce. With regard to the family as the unit of the Commonwealth, the example of Catholics throughout the world is the one truly righteous element in civilization since the Church is the defense of the inviolability of the marriage bond as God ordained it.

The conclusion is perfect — a closer knowledge of the one true religion would go far to induce men of good-will no more to follow after strange gods.

Personally, we rejoice in the truth that makes men free: in being followers of Christ under the banner of our dearly beloved leader, Boston's great Archbishop — Cardinal O'Connell: in the privilege that was ours some twelve years ago to hear His Eminence deliver his eloquent address on that ideal patriot — Joan of Arc — that bespoke Socialism as it is:

"Amid the new and strange doctrines which . . . Socialism has begotten in our own time none is falser, none more inhuman, none more vicious and dangerous in its effects and conclusions than that foolish and degrading theory by which the sentiment of patriotism is flouted and denied. By its endeavors to tear out from the human heart all its inborn sentiments of reverence for rulers and for law it seeks to kill in humanity its natural love for home and all that is expressed by that sacred word. To them nothing is sacred, neither God nor his altars, nor his ministers, nor home, nor native land, nor wife, nor family. For Socialism, according to its accredited teachers, would wipe out forever from human life, all the sweet consolations as well as all the noble duties which these human relations have ever inspired in the normal man. No fatherland, no banner, no fireside, no altar, no ruler, no God. Thus are summed up all the damnable negations of this satanic doctrine, which overturns with one fell blow all the holiest principles of human life. No wonder that where the voice of these prophets of evil is listened to and obeyed the disorder of hell reigns."

Most certainly, the world-wide unity of Catholics in defense of faith, patriotism and purity against blasphemy, treason and adultery, has brought down upon Holy Catholic Church the venom of anti-patriots.

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Apologizing for its vileness the above presents exhibits that appeared in the *Melting Pot* (St. Louis, June, 1916) an atheist — Socialist — anti-patriotic monthly that goes out highly recommended by Eugene V. Debs, agitator-superior; Margaret Sanger, the "queen" of the birth control propaganda, and other leading radicals, to create a vile public opinion consonant with the filth that it spews forth.

It was our country's entrance into war that brought out into the open public view, the sharply opposing doctrines of the Pope and Socialism as they apply to the authority and domain of Cæsar. Catholics to the last man, woman and youth were precisely and ardently loyal. While all those who are guided by the teachings of modern Socialism to regard the international revolution as their means and a classless society as the end all and be all of human effort, were at best anti-patriotic, at worst treasonable.

Immediately, after war was officially declared the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States addressed to President Wilson the determination of Catholics to stand true to our country, our government and our flag.

THE HIERARCHY'S CALL

"Standing firmly upon our solid Catholic tradition and history from the very foundation of this nation, we reaffirm in this hour of stress and trial our most sacred and sincere loyalty and patriotism toward our country, our Government, and our flag. Moved to the very depths of our hearts by the stirring appeal of the President of the United States

and by the action of our national Congress, we accept wholeheartedly and unreservedly the decree of that legislative authority proclaiming this country to be in a state of war. We have prayed that we might be spared the dire necessity of entering the conflict. But now that war has been declared, we bow in obedience to the summons to bear our part in it, with fidelity, with courage, and with the spirit of sacrifice, which as loyal citizens we are bound to manifest for the defense of the most sacred rights and the welfare of the whole nation. Acknowledging gladly the gratitude that we have always felt for the protection of our spiritual liberty and the freedom of our Catholic institutions under the flag, we pledge our devotion and our strength in the maintenance of our country's glorious leadership in those possessions and principles which have been America's proudest boast. Inspired neither by hate nor fear, but by the holy sentiments of truest patriotic fervor and zeal, we stand ready, we and all the flock committed to our keeping, to cooperate in every way possible with our President and our national Government, to the end that the great and holy cause of liberty may triumph, and that our beloved country may emerge from this hour of test stronger and nobler than ever. Our people now, as ever, will rise as one man to serve the nation. Our priests and consecrated women will once again as in every former trial of our country, win by their bravery, their heroism, and their service, new admiration and approval. We are all true Americans, ready, as our age, our ability, and our condition permit, to do whatever is in us to do, for the preservation, the progress, and the triumph of our beloved country. May God direct and guide our President and our Government, that out of this trying crisis in our national life may at length come a closer union among all the citizens of America, and that an enduring and blessed peace may crown the sacrifices which war inevitably entails."

Cardinal Gibbons

Cardinal Gibbons, in patriotic words, delivered a memorable address from the pulpit of his Cathedral in Baltimore the Sunday after our country was officially declared to be in a state of war:

"The primary duty of a citizen is loyalty to country . . . exhibited by an absolute and unreserved obedience to his country's call . . . manifested by solemn service, not by empty declamation. . . . In the present emergency it behooves every American citizen to do his duty, to uphold the hands of the President and the Congress in the solemn obligations that confront us, to pray that the Lord of Hosts may inspire them to such measures as will redound to the glory of our country, to righteousness of aim and conduct and to the future permanent peace of the world."

Cardinal Farley

From the pulpit of his See in New York, Cardinal Farley solemnly declared on that same fateful Sunday:

"Our President and our national Representatives having spoken, our response to the voice of authority which they embody will be to rally around our flag with complete fulness of devotion, with loyal hearts and sturdiest arms, to place all that we have and all that we are, at the service of our country. We will not shrink from any sacrifice in her behalf. We will render to her what our Catholic faith and teaching both sanction and sanctify. No demand on our citizenship will go unanswered or find us other than true Americans, true children of the Church, which never was found wanting in any crisis of our country."

CARDINAL O'CONNELL

On that same Easter Sunday (1917) at his See in Boston, Cardinal O'Connell lifted up his voice:

"God and our Nation! Let us lift to Heaven the cry. Let the love of true freedom — blessed, God-given freedom, which above all other lands our country has cherished and defended — let that be the thrilling power that will quicken our pulses into a still greater love of America than we have ever known till now. Whatever we can do in honor and justice, that we must in conscience do to defeat our enemy and make our Flag triumphant."

Ah! dear Lord! what a contrast is the enlightened attitude and action of Catholics to the lack of understanding of things human and the perverse conduct of Socialists! The Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party (St. Louis, April 7, 1917) sent out its report signed by the Committee on war and militarism:

KATE RICHARDS O'HARE, *Chairman.*
VICTOR L. BERGER.
JOB HARRIMAN.
MORRIS HILLQUIT.
DAN HOGAN.
FRANK MIDNEY.
PATRICK QUINLAN.
C. E. RUTHENBERG.
MAYNARD SHIPLEY.
GEORGE SPIESS, JR.
ALGERNON LEE, *Secretary.*

To quote in part:

"The Socialist party of the United States, in the present grave crisis, solemnly reaffirms its allegiance to the principle

of internationalism and working class solidarity the world over, and proclaims its unalterable opposition to the war just declared by the government of the United States.

"The Socialist party of the United States is unalterably opposed to the system of exploitation and class rule which is upheld and strengthened by military power and sham national patriotism. We, therefore, call upon the workers of all countries to refuse support to their governments in their wars. The wars of the contending national groups of capitalists are not the concern of the workers. The only struggle which would justify the workers in taking up arms is the great struggle of the working class of the world to free itself from economic exploitation and political oppression as against the false doctrine of national patriotism. We uphold the ideal of international working class solidarity. In support of capitalism, we will not willingly give a single life or a single dollar; in support of the struggle of the workers for freedom we pledge our all.

"Our entrance into the European conflict at this time will serve only to multiply the horrors of the war, to increase the toll of death and destruction and to prolong the fiendish slaughter. It will bring death, suffering and destitution to the people of the United States and particularly to the working class. It will give the powers of reaction in this country the pretext for an attempt to throttle our rights and to crush our democratic institutions, and to fasten upon this country a permanent militarism.

"We recommend to the workers and pledge ourselves to the following course of action:

"1. Continuous, active, and public opposition to the war, through demonstrations, mass petitions, and all other means within our power.

"2. Unyielding opposition to all proposed legislation for military or industrial conscription. Should such conscription be forced upon the people, we pledge ourselves to con-

tinuous efforts for the repeal of such laws and to the support of all mass movements in opposition to conscription. We pledge ourselves to oppose with all our strength any attempt to raise money for the payment of war expense by taxing the necessaries of life or issuing bonds which will put the burden upon future generations. We demand that the capitalist class, which is responsible for the war, pay its cost. Let those who kindled the fire furnish the fuel.

"3. Vigorous resistance to all reactionary measures, such as censorship of press and mails, restriction of the rights of free speech, assemblage, and organization, or compulsory arbitration and limitation of the right to strike.

"4. Consistent propaganda against military training and militaristic teaching in the public schools.

"5. Extension of the campaign of education among the workers to organize them into strong, class-conscious, and closely unified political and industrial organizations to enable them by concerted and harmonious mass action to shorten this war and to establish lasting peace.

"6. Widespread educational propaganda to enlighten the masses as to the true relation between capitalism and war, and to rouse and organize them for action, not only against present war evils, but for the prevention of future wars and for the destruction of the causes of war."

These declarations were adopted by a vote of 140 of the less than 200 delegates who attended the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party, in the Planters' Hotel, St. Louis. This action of the convention was endorsed by a referendum vote of 11,041 to 782 of their organized Socialist membership throughout the country. Surely it was with great speed that the enemy oversowed the good seed of patriotism with the cockle of treason. The very next day after war was declared,

before any other organization had spoken, Socialism declared against patriotism. While the first to pledge loyalty to our flag, wheresoever it should be borne, was the entire body of Catholic citizens — through the voice of the American hierarchy.

War Itself

The consequences that come from publishing broadcast this action of the Emergency Convention as *news* and still more from putting it, as a text book, into the hands of thousands of aggressive agitators is quite beyond our concrete view. Yet, it is safe to say that to its poison should be traced many an assault upon patriotism. It is not to war *per se* that Socialism objects: Not at all! Its "unalterable opposition to the war just declared by the government of the United States" is upon the assumption that "the only struggle which would justify the workers taking up arms is the great struggle of the working class to free itself from economic exploitation and political oppression against a false doctrine of national patriotism."

In simple words — as *national* patriotism is the one and only kind of patriotism ever known to mankind throughout the ages, Socialism will have none of it, simply because it is an integral part of human nature, for they have made over human nature after a pattern all their own. Surely, no man can fancy a monkey to have patriotic emotions — and this animal basis is the ground upon which Socialists estimate the actions of men. They will fight! yes! Not for the principle of

the self-determination of nations but for the very selfsame reason that the "capitalist class" sets on the dogs of war — the spoils. *"Internationalism! — the only war in which workers should enlist is the class war."* This is the instruction given by Arthur Le Sueur — member of the Socialist party Ex. Com. January, 1916. It is for Socialism that *"we will mount the barricades and fight like tigers,"* is the urge of Morris Hillquit, than whom no man has a louder voice in the party. In his honor the *New York Call* (May 14, 1917) one month after our country entered the war, put his battle cry into rhyme with the refrain:

"And fight our fight on the barricades!"

All over our home-land in manifold detail, their argument proceeds against the justice of our cause in defense of American right or American honor. This war "is a crime against the people of the United States and against the nations of the world." Against this special pleading, in the interest of a *classless society* that must be established by a *proletarian dictatorship* such as that of Lenin and Trotsky — the world knows that our sacrifice of blood and treasure was freely made for no selfish ends, no indemnities or compensation, no desire for military glory or dominion. No, the "crime" is not ours as a nation! The *crime* lies at the door of Socialism as our courts amply testify.

Yet, it is not a crime to seek foreign markets. Not alone is buying and selling as old as the history of man — but to the sanction of universal practise and commonsense there is added the sanction of the *old law,* and

the old law itself is further extended in the instruction given by our Lord Himself as the Gospels will testify. So it is most commendable enterprise to carry the products of industry — the knowledge of science and art into a far country and to return home laden with a just exchange in material wealth. The flag must indeed go with trade, since national honor must be observed by our citizens who sell, and national honor must be paid by those with whom we trade. Economic justice is the basis of the exchange of material goods for material goods; which results to the mutual advantage of buyer and seller, and without commerce civilization were void. It is true, alas! that the ground of equity has too often been betrayed by international transactions, especially with primitive peoples. But Catholics have no quarrel with those who seek justice. Indeed, injustice is their cause of quarrel and greatly it has been waged throughout all the Christian centuries, in the especial interest of the oppressed and the poor. To be sure it is this betrayal of the equities involved in trade that often leads to war between nations. But, this issue is not yet pushed home. When the state commits a crime against its neighbor state, it is men who perform the unlawful acts. So the crime of the state is the personal sin of the men engaged in undoing their neighbors of other countries. Hence the denial of the brotherhood of man is the real issue under consideration.

How ridiculously inconsistent, then, for Socialists to inveigh against the exploitation of the poor by the rich since all such indignities and crimes rest upon a belief

in the Fatherhood of God, not upon the animal origin of man that Socialists profess. We shall trust to the Holy Father's opinion that the nations of the European war were "all equally guilty." Yet, that fact does not argue against the defense of their several national lives when the conflict is on, partly inherited from other years of strife and partly induced by unworthy motives that appeal to the selfish interests of rulers. Surely, if in a personal quarrel one has been the most to blame, one must defend his life when the fight comes on. Nor does it mitigate against the part our country so honorably played in preventing the "suicide" of all Europe, for a looker-on is bound to step in to prevent the death of the under dog. Now this is but another way of saying that the Socialist way to prevent "crime" is the way to commit crime. Namely — the extinction of organized society. They would let nations "die out" in favor of those men who claim the world for their country.

Yet, here we come to the crux of the whole matter, and its evils are as broad as they are long. The "dictatorship of the proletariat" would swallow up the identity of nations in the International, where might is right and the *supreme state* would swallow up the authority of God, and so rest human rights upon human will. No, Catholics will give to Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar, and to God what belongs to God. So it is simple enough — whether the Catholic be in high station or in low station there is but one Supreme Giver for him, and it is as simple — with human nature as it is — that

the Pope is the one person on earth having the power to keep in order those who acknowledge their Maker, be they emperors, kings, premiers or presidents.

The Socialist Party threatened to conduct "a continuous active, public opposition to the war" using all means within its power:

1. The party would oppose all attempts to raise money by the sale of bonds:

2. It would support "mass-action" in opposition to conscription if it were voted into law by the government:

3. It would set up "vigorous resistance" to any form of censorship of press or speech. It would likewise oppose governmental efforts to limit strikes; to enforce compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes during the war; it would strive against military training in schools. At the same time the Socialist Party pledged itself to extend with greater vigor a campaign to organize "class-conscious" *industrial unions.* That is to say the form of union now operated by the I. W. W. and the Russian Bolsheviki.

We assume there is no especial cause to believe that foreign monies entered into the make-up of the Emergency Convention report. Yet, that it gave comfort to the enemy there can be no doubt. The secret of Socialist action, if it be a secret, lies in their basic mission — the destruction of Christian civilization. They find honor in perversity and glory in treason. Seymour Steadman, member of the Nat. Ex. Com. of the Socialist Party, when defending his comrades for a violation of

the Espionage Act, before Judge Landis, plays the part of prophet:

"Their children in the years to come would consider the St. Louis majority report the most comprehensive statement of the cause of war ever penned."

Perversity does not even spare the little ones! What a bond of dishonor to bear. How blessed are the children of noble sires who give them counsel: "Let all the ends thou aimst at be thy country's, thy God's, and truth's."

That *report* was hardly out-run by the anti-patriotic traitors elsewhere within the confines of our country and it may be doubted if any European state at war was so badly plagued by a document, put out in the open, more unpatriotic, incendiary or treasonable. Is it, then, any wonder that when the determination of the report was translated into personal action, that Debs, Berger, Germer, Tucker, Engdahl, Kruse, Fraina, Kate Richards O'Hare, Mrs. Phelps Stokes and the hundreds of others are under indictment or convicted for violation of the Espionage Act? But an indictment is a badge of honor, something to boast of. Art Young, the cartoonist sets out this distinction pictorially in Max Eastman's Magazine (the *Liberator,* Nov., 1918). In a half open door a sergeant-at-arms threatens the newcomers and below the picture is this legend:

Are you a Socialist?
Certainly.
Show your indictment.

In acknowledging the compliment — of being a good Socialist, "because he can show his indictment"— be-

fore an audience of 10,000 people assembled in the Coliseum in Chicago (Nov. 17, 1918) by William Bross Lloyd, the Chairman, Victor L. Berger responded "*I can show four indictments of about sixty counts. I was not indicted because I had committed any crime.—I was indicted because I stood for Socialism, that was the only reason.*" The audience applauded to the echo; seeming not to know that the "reason" was quite sufficient.

Socialists flaunt their indictments all over the country as a proof of having waged a good fight in the interest of free speech. The assumption is that whatever furthers their cause may by right be said, be it never so wrong. But, it is the license of speech not free speech that wins them converts. One has the right to do only what one ought to want to do. That *ought* ties every man fast to the Ten Commandments, that are utterly repudiated by the followers of Marx as being of use, perhaps, during the infancy of the race, but now hopelessly out of date. Power to do wrong we all have, and it is with their power that Socialists mean to establish a "dictatorship of the proletariat" on the ruins of Christian civilization which they are pleased to term "capitalism." They mean to run the red flag up over the dome of the capitol building at Washington — over every national capitol in the world.

Curiously enough, what is sauce for the goose is not sauce for the gander — *no*, this legend will not fit, for if one should expect consistency from Socialism it would be a proof that he himself had given over the rock of

right-reason for the shifty sand of now-you-have-it-and-now-you-don't. Freedom of the press and free speech when Socialists are in control *confuses* and *poisons* the mind of the populace. Yet, it is in the name of liberty that Socialists protest against the right of free speech being cut off in time of war. While a violation of the espionage law brings for them nothing but approval from their comrades. With one voice they all agree with Morris Hillquit's telegram to those who were convicted for defying this war regulation:

"The conviction is an act of frank and brutal class justice. It is a deliberate challenge to the Socialist movement — the Socialists will take up the challenge."

There should be no doubt about their determination to do so, for it is their purpose to carry the class war into every department of organized society. They know, that when they strike at patriotism they lay the ax at the very roots of national life. Socialists are afraid of nothing for they have blinded themselves to the existence of God. While the consequences of disloyalty to their country is their most fruitful means of perverse propaganda.

The conclusion is perfect — if Americans desire Columbia to gloriously live her thousand years, her rich sons must accept the responsibility of their stewardship. They must do justice and love mercy in dealing with the laborers who are ever worthy of their hire. The right relation of man to man comes first, the volume of a just profit second.

The wage earners — the little ones of Christ — are much more sinned against than sinning. They have the Gospel preached to them and they sense that politicians plot against their rights where statesmen should guard them. They know that a gamble for gold reduces their rightful standard of living and submerges thousands upon thousands below the level of decency.

"To Whom Shall We Go?"

The Catholic Church ever true to the teaching of her Founder stands for patriotism — for peace not for war. The Church knows and she teaches the peace promised by Christ to men of good-will. National good-will is then the condition of unity within and a strong right arm of defense against bad-will from without. If, indeed, lust for power and greed for wealth would give place to justice and to right, then truly we might "beat our swords into plowshares and our spears into pruning-hooks." Catholics are well taught that the state has rights that must be respected as the laws of God. If, then, all other means shall have failed, the state may resist by war encroachments upon her rights and upon her borders. The state may go out to maintain, by force of arms, what concerns her vital well-being as a commonwealth. "*By me kings reign and lawgivers decree just things.*" (Prov. viii, 15.) Surely it was no accident that during the World War the glorious upstanding of all other patriots gladly gave place to that of Cardinal Mercier:

"God will save Belgium, my Brethren, you cannot doubt it.

"Nay rather, He is saving her.

"Across the smoke of conflagration, across the stream of blood, have you not glimpses, do you not perceive signs of His love for us? Is there a patriot among us who does not know that Belgium has grown great? Nay, which of us would have the heart to cancel this last page of our national history? Which of us does not exult in the brightness of the glory of this shattered nation? When in her throes she brings forth heroes, our Mother Country gives her own energy to the blood of those sons of hers. Let us acknowledge that we needed a lesson in patriotism. There were Belgians, and many such, who wasted their time and their talents in futile quarrels of class with class, of race with race, of passion with personal passion.

"Yet, when on the second of August, a mighty foreign power, confident of its own strength and defiant of the faith of treaties, dared to threaten us in our own independence, then did all Belgians, without difference of party, or condition, or of origin, rise up as one man, close ranged about their own king, and their own government, and cry to the invader: 'Thou shalt not go through.'

"At once, instantly, we were conscious of our own patriotism. For down within us all is something deeper than personal interests, than personal kinships, than party feeling, and this is the need and the will to devote ourselves to that more general interest which Rome termed the public thing, *Res publica*. And this profound will within us is patriotism.

"Our country is not a mere concourse of persons or of families inhabiting the same soil, having amongst themselves relations, more or less intimate, of business, of neighborhood, of a community of memories, happy or unhappy. Not so; it is an association of living souls, subject to a social organization to be defended and safeguarded at all

costs, even the cost of blood, under the leadership of those presiding over its fortunes. And it is because of this general spirit that the people of a country live a common life in the present, through the past, through the aspirations, the hopes, the confidence in the life to come, which they share together. Patriotism an internal principle of order and of unity, an organic bond of the members of a nation, was placed by the finest thinkers of Greece and Rome at the head of the natural virtues. Aristotle, the prince of philosophers of antiquity, held disinterested service of the City — that is the State — to be the very ideal of human duty. And the religion of Christ makes of patriotism a positive law; there is no perfect Christian who is not also a perfect patriot. For our religion exalts the antique ideal, showing it to be realizable only in the Absolute. Whence, in truth, comes this universal, this irresistible impulse which carries at once the will of the whole nation in one single effort of cohesion and of resistance in face of the hostile menace against her unity and her freedom? Whence comes it that in an hour all interests were merged in the interest of all, and that all lives were together, offered in willing immolation? Not that the State is worth more than the individual or the family, seeing that the good of the family and of the individual is the cause and reason of the organization of the State. Not that our country is a Moloch on whose altar lives may lawfully be sacrificed. The rigidity of ancient morals and the despotism of the Cæsars suggested that false principle — and Modern Militarism tends to revive it — that the State is omnipotent, and that the discretionary power of the State is the rule of Right. Not so, replies Christian theology, Right is Peace, that is, the interior order of a nation, founded upon Justice. And Justice itself is absolute only because it formulates the essential relation of man with God and of man with man. Moreover, war for the sake of war is a crime. War is justifiable only if it is the necessary means for securing peace. St. Augustine said: 'Peace

must not be a preparation for war. And war is not to be made except for the attainment of peace.' In the light of this teaching, which is repeated by St. Thomas Aquinas, patriotism is seen in its religious character. Family interests, class interests, party interests, and the material good of the individual take their place, in the scale of values, below the ideal of patriotism, for that ideal is Right, which is absolute. Furthermore, that ideal is the public recognition of Right in national matters, and of national Honor. Now there is no Absolute except God. God alone by His sanctity and His sovereignty, dominates all human interests and human wills. And to affirm the absolute necessity of the subordination of all things to Right, to Justice, to Truth is implicitly to affirm God.

"When, therefore, humble soldiers whose heroism we praise answer us with characteristic simplicity, 'We only did our duty,' or 'We were bound in honor,' they express the religious character of their patriotism. Which of us does not feel that patriotism is a sacred thing, and that a violation of national dignity is in a manner profanation and a sacrilege?" (*Patriotism and Endurance, Xmas, 1914.*)

IV

THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER

OR

THE RED FLAG

OUR well beloved Red, White and Blue is the symbol of those primary attributes of justice that, woven into the warp and woof of our country, secure to all its citizens their God-given rights; Freedom of conscience and of worship; equality before the law; protection of property. Our flag symbolizes — not indeed the perfect country for that is in Heaven, not on earth, but the best that man has produced in his desire to establish a government where the oppressed of the earth shall freely make their home.

"Blest with victory and peace, may the heaven-rescued land
Praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a nation.
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
And this be our motto, 'In God is our trust.'
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave."

The red flag symbolizes a revolt against God as the Author of men and of nations. It definitely repudiates the authority of Cæsar. In place of the principle of justice, as the foundation of the state, it floats — as the basic law of human society — a series of variable no-

tions amongst men, caused by the changing modes of producing wealth for profit, and the consequent changes in economic classes, as century after century rolls on. The red flag symbolizes the power of an irresistible force — the irresponsible power that brought Capitalism to this age; the irresponsible power that shall bring the proletariat to the economic throne in the age to come.

"Then raise the scarlet standard high
Beneath its folds, we'll live and die,
Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer,
We'll keep the red flag flying here."

From the time when modern Socialism launched its world-wide campaign upon the authority of the *Communist Manifesto,* the followers of Marx and Engels have vociferously preached the base notion that "*workingmen have no country.*" From that day to this the red flag has been the arch enemy of all those emblems that stand as symbols of national integrity — be the form of government despotic, theocratic, oligarchical or democratic. The task of the workingmen is to win the world for their country. Why not? Since these puny men have wiped God out of His world, why should they not undertake the lesser task of razing all nations to the ground and of planting the red flag over the universal ruin of what was once the nations of the earth? Indeed, it is easy enough to justify this assault against nations by the tests of their philosophy. Man is not to them gifted by God with a rational nature. No, their irrational assumption is that the rational faculties have

been — by the experiences of time, super-added to the animal faculties. The animal faculties being the "natural" endowment. If, then, one is so irrational and illogical as to accept this theory of the existence of the human race, one may insist that it is his environment that made — that makes — man. Furthermore, if one admits that rational faculties have been added by animal experiences why not pile unreason on unreason and conceive the super-man to be on the road waving the red flag?

It was in France (1848) that the national emblem — the tri-colored banner — was first assailed by Socialists:

"Down with the flag of kings! of crime,
Hurrah for the red — symbol of freedom!"

But our own starry banner is not less obnoxious than the banner of France to the men with the red flag. Eugene V. Debs,— than whom no man, in John Spargo's view, has done nobler service "to keep the altar fires of Revolution bright" cries out —

"All hail the Labor Day of May!
Raise high this day the blood-red Standard of the Revolution!
The banner of the Workingman;
The flag, the only flag of Freedom."
(P. 305, "Debs: His Life, Writings and History.")

When taken to task for raising aloft the red flag instead of our own red, white and blue banner, Socialists set forth *internationalism* — the world-country — as the

meaning of their symbol. Forsooth! *Red* is their color because "*the blood of all peoples is red.*" ("Modern Socialism," C. H. Vail, p. 13.) Profound indeed! Blood is red, but red blood is not a distinctively human characteristic since the blood of the brute creation is just as red as human blood. Yet, this assumed reason is quite in line with the philosophy that knows no distinct line of demarcation between the human and the brute creation, for Socialists are cock-sure to a man that they are merely a higher form of animal — brother to the ape. Yet, since science knows very well the difference between the blood corpuscles of the ape and the man; this popular satisfaction rests upon mere ignorance. Further still, since the "missing link" has not been found and since there is not the slightest prospect that it shall ever be found this assumption that satisfies a multitude of men rests upon something other than ignorance — there is a species of ill will in it. Here is the core of the matter — *ill will.* Now, after these seventy years of propaganda and experiment, the Bolshevikist reign of terror in Russia shows the world what in fact is the quality of the power that is symbolized by the *red flag.* Surely it manifests destruction upon a colossal scale. Indeed no, the objection to the banner of these modern revolutionists is not based upon its color. To encroach upon the ground of the mystic, it is because red in the hands of *passion* signifies the force of the color; red in the hands of *reason* signifies the form of the color. The *form* of *red* is fire under rational control; the *force* of the red being fire

under irrational control. One fire is constructive, the other destructive. To put it into the vernacular, we expect little of the man who "*sees red.*" The red flag in the hands of the man of Morocco would be a demonstration of loyalty to their country; in the hands of Harvard men the red flag shows love for their Alma Mater. So it is that, for very different reasons, we may say with the Editor of the *Class Struggle* (N. Y. Dec. 1918) that

> "The fight against the red flag is — not merely against a symbol, but against the aggressive and revolutionary character of our movement."

Precisely, not against the color of the flag, but against the intention of the movement to float their symbol over every national capitol in the world as a sign of Socialism Victorious. It is against this destructive force that our quarrel is being waged.

Above all others Daniel De Leon may be trusted to push their conclusions to the limit, for he holds ever in mind the organization of the Catholic Church as the model *per contra* for a world-wide Socialist empire. To be sure, De Leon's is a material heaven here on earth and it is his perverse conviction — since God is a myth — that the Catholic Church is merely a man-made political institution with the purpose of ruling from Rome the whole world in the interest of the hierarchy. De Leon's flag, he is pleased to believe, is the extreme opposite — not the papal flag of the few holding in slavery the many, but the red flag that shall lay low the priests and

capitalists, thus bringing spiritual slaves and wage slaves to the top of the heap, or rather as the vision scans a dead level there would be no top. Meantime De Leon stages the probable coming to grips of the "Red" with the "White and Yellow." We quote from *The Red Flag and the White and Yellow* (produced in the *Weekly People* Feb. 13, 1913, and reproduced March 8th, 1919).

"There have been now and anon legislative attempts aimed at the exclusion of the Red Flag from public displays and processions.

"The Red Flag makes no bones of its purpose. Its purpose is the overthrow of the existing capitalist order of society, and the substitution of the same with the Socialist or Industrial order.

"It is not the Red Flag of Socialism alone that is tò-day proclaiming Revolution in the land. The White and Yellow Flag of the Ultramontane Papal Polity is doing the same thing.

"It matters not to the Socialist that the Papal-proposed Revolution in the land is one that Socialism will oppose tooth and nail; it matters not to the Socialist.

"Legislation against the Red Flag savors, accordingly, of treason to the Spirit and the Letter of the organic law of the land; hence, of treason to the American Flag itself, the folds of which protect whatever amendment to the Constitution, whether 'Red' or 'White and Yellow.'"

Poor De Leon! What a courageous spirit gone wrong. Of that race who wander over the face of the earth without a country because they could not and would not distinguish between the Ruler of the King-

dom of Heaven when He came to earth in fulfilment of His promise to the Jews, and the national kingdom over which Cæsar then reigned. De Leon was a most aggressive foe of the Church of Christ. Throughout his long career he persisted in ignoring the Cross of Christ as the symbol of the Universal Church — seeing only the White and Yellow symbol of the Pope's jurisdiction over that piece of territory where the government of Christ's Church carries out the Command: —"*Go and teach ye all nations; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.*" As Washington, D. C., is the seat of the Federal Government of these United States so is the Papal flag the emblem that locates the territory from which those individuals throughout the world are governed who acknowledge the authority of the Pope in matters of faith and morals. It is no mere accident that Marx, Engels, De Leon, Berger, Hillquit and Trotsky — men without a country — should be leaders in propagating internationalism, since internationalism is intended to destroy nations. Moreover, it was in this country, under De Leon as the master mind, that leaders of the Bolsheviki of Russia were trained. That our free country offered the greatest license in propagating treason is not a mere accident. Our leading citizens have long since harrowed the soil of disloyalty — all unwittingly no doubt. Cities have erected monuments to those who offensively boast — The World is my country. This is now the cry of the rebellion against all government — the cry of the man who would have murdered the French premier,— Clemenceau.

Because the reasoning of Socialism is never upon the solid ground of God first, ourselves next, and all things else third, its imagery is ever lacking in balanced proportion — in common sense.

"There are many men and women to-day who are earnestly and fervently patriotic in the bourgeois sense. 'The Star Spangled Banner' makes them thrill with emotion. They will shed tears over the story of the true-hearted lad who left his sweetheart to obey his country's call, and died while trying to save the colors. Every Socialist knows that all these stories and songs are some of the means that the ruling class uses to cultivate a feeling of national patriotism, and that so long as such a feeling exists among many people their supremacy is safe.

"In the Socialist school a feeling of international patriotism will be aroused. The children will be made to feel that the workingmen of all nations are brothers. They have a common enemy — capitalism. They have a common aim — its overthrow." (*N. Y. Worker,* March 7, 1908.)

So it is that the red flag —"international patriotism"— seeks to swallow up the Star-Spangled Banner —"national patriotism." Yet, since "national patriotism" is the only kind of patriotism there is in the world — the standard by which we love another country like unto our own — and since "international patriotism" means nothing at all save a base counterfeit of the love of the Cross of Christ, it is necessary sharply to distinguish religion from patriotism.

Embraced within the love of God is love of country, but with God left out, love of country has no compelling force. Patriotism is in its essence national,

hence the man who chooses the world for his country has no country, therefore, he is lacking the standards by which to love any country. For since God is the Author of nations a man under God's authority must love another nation like unto the love he gives his own and it goes without saying that his country like his life is his own. If his country is not defended, it is proof that he loves neither the one nor the other. But a man's love for his own and other countries does not wipe out the fact of other nations any more than it wipes out the individuality of our neighbor because we are commanded to love our neighbor as ourselves. This, however, is what Socialist philosophy attempts to do. Their "social organism" means a crawling, sprawling humanity in which the individual soul, in the image of his Maker, is not reckoned with.— This is their essential denial of immortality.

Now that — which is above, beyond, around and beneath the love of a man for his flag is rightly symbolized by the Cross of Christ. But the followers of Christ are men and women with individual souls, since neither families nor nations are members of the Church suffering, the Church militant, the Church triumphant. But, while the person is the unit under the Cross of Christ — the banner of God — the family is the unit under the Red, White and Blue. Religion is by Socialism cleverly counterfeited. Having denied the individual soul, it would wipe out families and nations together with private property and it is this bizarre vision of the world, as a herd of *tool-using animals* that prompts the imagery

that is stimulated at the sight of the red flag. They *see red* when "international patriotism" is contemplated, for therein is neither religion nor patriotism; the one spiritual, the other moral, has no place in their materialistic scheme.

We hold no brief for the defense of "capitalism" when the term connotes the grinding of the face of the poor — the using of public power for private gain and glory. We shall do what we can to put under the Red, White and Blue those practises that Pope Leo has named *Christian Democracy.* But, all may be sure that "Revenge is mine, I will repay saith the Lord" and that He will reward and punish according to exact justice. Meantime, we rejoice greatly that love and obedience to our flag is being strengthened by the fervent emotion that wells up in the heart at hearing of gallant deeds and of noble sacrifice. Ah! to see our country's flag afloat in a foreign land! How it makes the tears of joy to flow.

The Czar of the Milwaukee movement can at all times be found with the anti-patriots. Any insult to the American flag is justified: When Clarence S. Darrow — a lawyer of the Tolstoyian — anarchistic type — was denounced in the public press for his refusal to rise when the band played the Star-Spangled Banner, in one of the leading hotels in Seattle, it was Victor Berger who upheld the affront, in a signed editorial:

> "The flag fetish is silly when it is not hypocritical.
> And it is hypocritical when it is not silly.

"I would personally just as soon get up when the band plays 'Hiawatha' or 'Hail, Hail, the Gang's all Here' as for 'The Star Spangled Banner.' 'Hiawatha' stands for a good time, 'The Star-Spangled Banner' stood for Hell in Colorado and stands for the same in Pennsylvania and other places."

Like outrages with the intent to wound and injure the patriotic spirit are not uncommon and they are frequently violently crass. A mild sensation was sprung in labor circles when the President of the A. F. of L. was charged with having addressed a meeting while standing on the flag. Mr. Gompers defended himself. He declared his respect and honor for our national emblem and explained that the flag was draped *around* not *across* the table on which he stood. This occasion was made much of in the *New York Call* (Feb. 10, 1912). We present the last half of an article under the caption *"Respect the Uniform; Honor the Flag"* (italics ours).

"'At least honor the flag!' they cry in desperation. 'Honor the flag which stands for freedom, equality and fraternity!'

"What flag? The American flag? The Stars and Stripes? The flag which floats over every hell hole of mine and mill and prison? The flag which floats over station house and barracks whence issue police and soldiers to batter down and murder workers exercising their constitutional rights of free speech and free assemblage? Honor the flag which you our masters, have changed from a flag of liberty into a symbol of the cruelest exploitation and vilest oppression of the new civilization?

"If I had been Samuel Gompers when he was reproached by the capitalists for placing his foot on the American flag, I should have answered:

"'Yes, I TRAMPLED ON IT, and, more than that I SPIT UPON YOUR FLAG, not mine. *I loathe the Stars and Stripes, once the symbol of liberty for all, but now the stripes represent the bloody stripes left by your lash on the back of the worker, and the stars the bullet and bayonet wounds in his breast.* TO HELL WITH YOUR FLAG!'

"There is and can be but one flag for which an intelligent working man can have any respect, the flag of humanity, *the red flag* of the working-class. It stands for justice, for equality of opportunity, for the abolition of war, the end of oppression and exploitation, for carefree childhood, for glorious, unfettered manhood and womanhood, and for honored and protected old age.

"*When the red flag flies above our homes and our nations, we shall honor it and love it. But, until it does we refuse to recognize or respect any flag which is merely the symbol of and protects some national section of international capitalism.* DOWN WITH THE SCARS AND STRIPES! RUN UP THE RED FLAG OF HUMANITY!"

The lady-reds seem to see red redder than the mere man-reds. We have before us Rose Pastor Stokes' defense of the revolutionary emblem. While, indeed, it makes the conventional radical argument that the red flag is red because its red color testifies to the common red blood of humanity — and so, of course, in Socialist thought, the red blood of the man and the brute mingle in a common brotherhood — the red of Mrs. Stokes' language gives out a most destructive fire. However, it is quite the tendency of the lady-reds to run into poetry when their flag is reprobated. On the occasion when in the Great and General Court of Massachusetts a ban was placed on the Socialist banner *The Women's Day Edi-*

tion of the *N. Y. Call* (Feb. 28, 1915) was inspired to "come back" with a piece of vice printed in the fierce garb of what should be the form of poetry. The pen of Katherine Richmond sets down eight stanzas. We present the last:

"And on Massachusetts' priest-damned shore,
Where the Red Flag is denied,
When Liberty's clarion call is heard
The rulers are defied;
And in the fights for freedom,
Which by rebel slaves is led,
In the hearts of the brave and dauntless
Burns bright the Flag of Red."

Should it not give pause to many a candid mind upon learning that the red enemy of our fatherland is the *red red* enemy of our faith? Both are struck at once. Back of the ordered freedom of our fatherland is the faith that holds to the Rock of Ages. Yet, should it not give one courage to realize that so long as men enough acknowledge the moral law to be the foundation of all just government; so long as men enough acknowledge God as the Author of the Ten Commandments just so long shall Columbia's flag wave over a free and mighty people whom Socialism is powerless to corrupt?

Indeed, it is an especial compliment — aye an especial call — to Catholics that they should bear the brunt of the attack. No, not as capitalists, nor as a "*police force for the capitalist class,*" but as the stoutest defenders of God's authority in all the world. For it is true that Pope and people — one and all — reprobate the red flag

of disorder — of rebellion — of "The Revolution." No fear of the curse of the red flag ladies! It will not avail to blast the faith of the good priests nor to blast the rockbound coast of the Old Bay State. Here the Church blossoms like a rose under the vigilant care of our well beloved Cardinal Archbishop. And, many a man not born in the faith comes to that Prince of the Church — William Cardinal O'Connell — for the adequate explanation of the phenomenon —"An All-Red Russia."

Louise Bryant (Six Months in Russia) tells of a day when Russia was reddest. The occasion was the burial of a man like a dog.— The "Red Burial" in Moscow. The "Red Square" was hung in red. Great red banners were flung to the breeze with "inscriptions about the revolution." Nothing but good red revolutionary blood coursed through the veins of the workmen and peasants there present. The bourgeoisie and the aristocrats were absent — murdered or in hiding. Ah, it was glorious! The fate of the empire in the hands of the red revolutionists! *"All the churches and all the shrines were closed. How impressive it was! No ceremony, no priests; everything so simple and so real."*

The lady reds are rather chronic press letter writers. The Secretary of the Navy, some time since, gave them occasion to "strike back" because of his denunciation of the red flag in an address delivered at Seattle, Washington. From all over the country came letters of protest. We comment upon one of these open letters for two reasons, first to show that the red flag has replaced the

Cross of Christ as the symbol of their hope and again to note the persistency with which those of radical culture use, falsely, a quotation from the Encyclopedia Britannica. Mrs. Charles Edward Russell (Chicago, Aug. 2, 1913) whose husband upholds the red flag in Russia as "the universal bond — of world-wide hope" deprecates the "peculiar inappropriateness in denouncing an emblem of Christianity" which the red flag is by inference said to be. The Hon. Josephus Daniels is referred to

"The Encyclopedia Brittanica in an article on Socialism you will find this statement: 'The ethics of Socialism are closely akin to, if not identical with, the ethics of Christianity.'

"Consequently there is a peculiar inappropriateness in denouncing an emblem of Christianity before an organization such as the Young Men's Christian Association."

If, however, our Secretary of the Navy, or any one of the Socialists, should take the trouble to look up the reference he could not but find that the Encyclopedia Britannica is not the authority for the quotation that Mrs. Russell employs, namely "The ethics of Socialism are closely akin to, if not identical with the ethics of Christianity." Yet, because their propaganda has so frequently, during the past thirty years, used this quotation apart from its proper setting, there is no doubt that many "slave minds" who camp together with their "class conscious" comrades really believe that the Britannica gives its sanction to this making of black white. Thus confidence in what is not so rings these changes

innocently; others for tactical reasons. However, there are Socialists who repudiate and reprobate the notion that the red flag and the Cross of Christ symbolize ethics that are "akin or identical." Desiring an international authority one may consult the *Commonweal* (London, Vol. 4, No. 116) on the matter; the Editor of the *Comrade* (N. Y. May, 1903) states the case plainly: "*We do not in most cases believe it. We repeat it because it appeals to the slave mind of the world. The very basis of Christianity is a denial of the basic principles of Socialism.*" "*Socialism Christianized would be Socialism emasculated and destroyed.*" Of course, the "slave mind" is the mind that rests securely upon reason enforced and enlightened by revelation. In a word natural revelation and supernatural revelation controls the Christian mind, holds it to law and order. From this combination of life and light comes the sage and the seer.

Indeed, we are not defenders of the Encyclopedia Britannica. On the contrary we are well aware that its too frequent perversion of Catholic principles and history make it an unreliable guide on things Christian. Yet, its statement relative to the content of the Socialist propaganda is quite to the issue. There is a little fringe of folk, at the outskirts of the movement who still cling sentimentally to Christian precepts, without being aware of the logic of its doctrine; while the multitude of its followers are controlled in their thought by the leaders who insist upon the frankest and most outspoken materialistic conception of history.

We submit that the quotation in full will not permit Mrs. Russell to run up the red flag as anything like a fair substitute for the Cross of Christ:

"It is needless to say that the theories of socialism have been held in connection with the most varying opinions in philosophy and religion. A great deal of the historic socialism has been regarded as a necessary implicate of idealism. Most of the prevailing socialism of the day is based on the frankest and most outspoken revolutionary materialism. On the other hand, many socialists hold that their system is a necessary outcome of Christianity, that socialism and Christianity are essential the one to the other; and it should be said that the ethics of socialism are closely akin to the ethics of Christianity, if not identical with them." (Page 206, Vol. 22, 9th Edition Encly. Britannica.)

We know only too well many persons void of the Living Faith — who, distraught because the world, the flesh and the devil seem to them to be in almost complete control of the body-politic, clutch at the red flag as the symbol of hope. Yet, there is no use of going the wrong way for the right thing. Nor is there any wisdom in letting the pest of Socialism run its course to the end when the cure is in the Cross of Christ. But the evidence shows that the red flag is still in its ascendant. Mr. Albert Rhys Williams — a sometime Congregational minister, now authorized agent of Lenin-Trotsky "to manage the Bolsheviki bureau of information in the United States"— when appearing before the Senate Committee investigating this propaganda Mr. Williams was questioned about the red flag by Senator Overman

(Feb. 21, 1919). His jaunty answer was: "It excites some people.

"If you suppress it, they will find some other symbol. In Germany they suppressed the red flag and so they adopted the red flower and all the Socialist women began to wear red petticoats and they held up a few inches of the outer skirt so everybody could see the color of the petticoat. I think there is entirely too much hullabaloo about the red flag."

No doubt, the suppression of the symbol by a mere force leads to a still more determined effort to float the red flag over the Stars and Stripes. But is there no hope since the suppression of their symbol leads to still more determined perversity to establish internationalism on the ruins of nations — the one following the other in rapid cycles? Yes, undoubtedly, there is, namely — a readjustment of our national affairs — political, economic, domestic and social — upon the principles laid down by the founders of our government. Here is the necessity for instruction in ethics and morals — we must think straight and act straight if we desire the blessings of the commonwealth. But primarily, the education of ethics and morals is the office of the Church —"Going, therefore, teach ye all nations, teaching them all things whatsoever I have commanded you." Then it comes to this: The rank and file of the red flag followers are like unto the little children of the poor who are ground down by the rich — more sinned against than sinning. Their leaders know what they do, not so with the rabble. Our Blessed Lord prayed: *"Father, forgive them for they know not what they do."*

How is it, then, if our country would rid us of propaganda under the red flag, that our nationally accredited agents — John Spargo, A. M. Simons, Louis Kopelin, Charles Edward Russell and Alexander Howat — the Socialist Commission to Europe, may receive from Secretary of State Lansing commendation? "You have done a great service not only to your country, but to humanity."—"The Mission took part in the presentation of a red flag to General Garibaldi, the grandson of the revolutionist, by the Trieste Socialists, now in Paris." (The *New Appeal,* Oct. 5, 1918.)

Children Cast Off the American Flag

The evil effect of the Red Flag propaganda has descended from their fathers and mothers upon the school children. In proof we shall cite but two of the many instances that our data recounts.

"Oscar Whiting, ten years old, a pupil in the Reed public school, Camden, N. J., was suspended because he refused to salute the American flag.

"It seems the lad has failed to salute the flag since the opening of school, the teachers failing to observe the infraction of the rules. His detection was due to an indignation meeting of the other pupils. The pupils reported the matter to Miss Holl and she asked the boy why he had not saluted the colors.

"'My parents are Socialists,' he replied, 'and have told me not to salute the flag.'

"'Why not?' Miss Holl asked.

"'I don't know,' the youth said. 'They told me not to take my hat off to a flag unless it was all red.'

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In the May-Day issue of the *Chicago Daily Socialist* (1912) Morris Hillquit delivers himself in a signed editorial.

"Friday, the militant hosts of Socialism and labor will march in proud procession to the inspiring tune of the 'Marseillaise' or the 'Internationale,' carrying the defiant emblem of their hopes and their challenge — the red flag of Socialism.

"As usual also a savage howl of mingled rage and fear will go up from the capitalist press, the capitalist pulpit and the capitalist government. The parasites of all nations have a morbid aversion to the red color. Their guilty conscience interprets it as a symbol of carnage and bloodshed.

"We Socialists glory in the red flag as the symbol of kinship of all that bears human countenance; we revere it as an augury of world-wide peace, harmony and brotherhood, we cling to it as the inspiring standard in the great international fight against corruption, exploitation and oppression. We are proud of the red flag. Our allegiance to it is open and honest.

"But how about you, apologists of the existing system? You, who taunt us with our flag and flaunt into our faces the Stars and Stripes? What claim do you have to the emblem of American independence, democracy and justice?

"The Stars and Stripes are not YOUR emblem! You have long pawned the stars to the trusts and monopolies and your stripes for the stripes of the prison garb. Your true emblem is the black flag of the pirate.

"Since the fight of Socialism is a fight to re-establish equality, democracy and social justice in this country, the Socialists alone uphold the true purity and honor of the

Stars and Stripes. Since the fight of Socialism is at the same time a fight for the entire human race, the red flag supplements the Stars and Stripes. When Socialism will win its battles, both emblems will flutter together from all huts and palaces, gaily proclaiming in their multiform colors that mankind is free."

Let us discriminate: — When the term "parasite" is used to express the acts of those men who are responsible for political and economic abuses, we accept it as fitting. So, too, when the term "existing system" is used to denote those trusts and monopolies that flourish as the wicked on earth, we accept it as fitting. But when the word parasite is used by Socialists, the term is so all-embracing as to leave nobody in the country with a decent regard for the economic and political rights of others,— neither is there left a great body of men who loyally stand for their country and their God. These are they who defend our country with their strength, their life and their money. These are they to whom the Most Reverend Patrick J. Hayes, D. D., Archbishop of New York, at Solemn Military Mass, Battery Park — Memorial Day, 1918 — addressed these words:

"Here to this very ground, the gateway of America, seeking a haven of refuge, a land of opportunity, have come legions of immigrants. America looked out upon the Atlantic, with a cry of welcome to all, saying 'Enter ye in.' To-day she stands on this same consecrated ground and bids these new sons of hers, many, sons by adoption, to go forth across the waters over which your forefathers or yourselves have ventured and not to return until you have planted the glorious Stars and Stripes upon the citadel of

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darkness that liberty and civilization may not perish from the earth."

No, not for these — priest and people — is it a "guilty" conscience, but rather it is history and experience that forbids them to conclude that "carnage and bloodshed" is what our flag symbolizes. They know that the red flag symbolizes desecration of religion, degradation of the family, confiscation of property, murder and rapine together with the overthrow of government. It were as sensible to expect the lion and the lamb to lie down together in peace,— that the assassin and his victim will dwell together in love, as to expect the Red flag and Old Glory to flutter in harmonious union.

Ah! But the hypocrisy of the mental picture of the red flag supplementing the Stars and Stripes! Is not the Stars and Stripes the full orbed sum of human liberty — the promise of social prosperity and security if we will but work it out? We know that it was not to "supplement" the tri-color of France that the red flag was raised aloft by the Commune of 1871. Far from it. The red flag was run up on the Hotêl de Ville to supplant the banner of France; while the German enemy was thundering at Paris gates the Socialist enemy was taking possession within: When the Allies defeated the Germans — the Liebknecht-Luxemburg group — that are praised so highly by their American comrades ran up the red flag on the Royal Palace of Berlin not to "supplement" but to *supplant* the flag of Germany.

When the Bolsheviki overthrew the Constituent Assembly, the red flag went up on the Winter Palace of Petrograd not to "supplement" the first democratic flag of Russia, but to supplant it with the *Dictatorship of the Proletariat.* To come home — when a motion was made at the Washington State Convention (1912) of the Socialist Party to have Old Glory displayed together with the red flag, the delegates defeated the resolve by a vote of two to one. Lacking the power, Socialist politicians talk of supplementing our symbol of liberty with theirs of license; having the power they haul down national banners and run up the International flag of despotism — the color of blood.

The diplomatic "Comrade" "Hillquit," is not so frank as is Ernest Belfort Bax of England — an international authority — his frankness, not his doctrine, is to be commended when he says:

"Hasten the day . . . when the working classes of the civilized world will, with one consent, finally abandon the national flags of their masters, and range themselves under the banner of Socialism. . . ." (*Social Democrat,* London, Vol. 8, No. 7.)

"The day" has come, but not gone, in Russia as there are yet alive many who are not slaves to the will of Lenin-Trotsky. For ourselves, the question is — Shall we hasten the Socialist day? Or, shall we say — *They shall not pass?*

Abroad and at home the will to crush nations under the wheels of the Socialist juggernaut may be seen by what they do. When the deliberations of the first Inter-

national Socialist Congress (Geneva 1866) were over, a red flag fête brought the occasion to an end. A steamboat on Lake Leman was chartered for an excursion. It was gaily decorated and a band provided inspiriting music. All the home and foreign delegates were aboard. The flags of many nations floated from the ropes running to the mast head, and it was significantly bare. The band struck up the Internationale as the steamer glided smoothly out into the lake. Then came a mighty shout from hundreds of throats, "*Hurrah for the Red Republic,*" and up went the red flag to the topmost place. Ah! was it the red flag of Switzerland with the white cross? No, not so, it was minus the cross. It was the blood red flag that symbolized the power that should lay low the flag of every nation under the sun. It was the red flag that pronounced the sentence — No God, No Master. It was the threat of nationality wiped out of a world without religion.

We have had in our own country a fantastical scene but with the same meaning. A Socialist clergyman — Bouck White, whom Eugene V. Debs has ordained as "the only Christian minister" in New York, has brought the Geneva fête quite up to date. Having delivered a sermon in "The Church of Social Revolution" on "The Idolatry of the Flag"; and delivered himself of the accusation that "patriotism is a relic of the dark ages"; that "the American flag — has come to be the pavilion of property rights," Mr. White hied himself to the back yard. Behind the church, together with his comrades, the gentlemen proceeded to the ceremony of

melting all the nations down to dregs in a huge iron pot. One after another the flags of the several nations of the earth were placed in the pot — our sacred emblem in full view. There was a flash of brimstone and devouring flames, leaping high, that reduced them all to nothingness. Ah! how great and glorious is the use of mechanics following after the materialist conception of history. Lo, and behold! The red flag of Internationalism waves above the hot pot. The feat is roundly applauded and the blasphemous " amen " is sounded.

Let no sensible man think that this contumacious act of their pastor was resented by his Socialist flock. Quite to the contrary:

" The congregation of the church, however, stands squarely behind its pastor in the position he has taken. This was made evident by the discussion that followed the sermon. Professor Imbert, of the department of history of Columbia University, arose to say that he agreed with everything that Bouck White had said and that half the boys under him at the university held the same views. In the event of the matter being forced to an issue, he said, they were willing to go to any lengths with White." (*New York Call,* March 27, 1916.)

Bouck White was brought before the court for thus insulting our flag and given a well deserved term in the penitentiary. The judge expressed regret that the law did not permit him to give the offender a longer sentence. Desecrating the flag was merely a huge joke to the Socialist daily of New York. It bemoaned the event since:

"Dear Comrade Bouck White languishes in jail because he could not resist the temptation to make a little flag soup in his back yard." (*Call,* Sept. 3, 1916.)

Surely, it is superfluous to note that this man who engages in crass and familiar chat about our Blessed Lord being the greatest Socialist rebel on record, was as unrepentant when he left the jail as he was when he entered therein. For it should be well understood that whether the event be gay at Geneva, or treasonably comic as the burning of flags in a pot in the back yard of a church or as bloody red as the Bolsheviki régime in starved and desolate Russia, their aim and end is one and the same the wide-world over: To substitute the force of the Marxian red flag for one and all national banners for which patriots give up their lives.

No, we do not fear. We know as well as anybody the onrush of dangers. But we know America's best defense. Our glorious banner shall be seen floating majestically in the breeze in all its brilliant beauty a thousand years after this latest heresy reduced to a physical combat has been beaten back through the Gates of Hell. This our well beloved Columbia is in our Blessed Mother's care; and we know that so long as the Catholic Church inculcates the love of the flag in the hearts of her children Old Glory is safe.

"Up to the breeze of the morning I fling you,
Blending your folds with the dawn in the sky;
There let the people behold you, and bring you
Love and devotion that never shall die.

Proudly agaze at your glory, I stand
Flag o' my land! Flag o' my land!

Standard most glorious, Banner of beauty!
Whither you beckon me there will I go;
Only to you, after God, is my duty;
Unto no other allegiance I owe.
Heart of me, soul of me, yours to command,
Flag o' my land! Flag o' my land!

TOM DALY."

Love of our flag is quickly, generously and proudly translated into deeds of heroic valor that never die. Whether or not the words are the same, there is the self-same straightforward promise of loyalty to the Government when it is declared by Congress and ratified by the signature of the United States that we are in a state of war, there comes from every priestly Shepherd of his flock as came in these plain words of

ARCHBISHOP GEORGE W. MUNDELEIN, OF CHICAGO

"And now that it has begun, none of us can tell how long it will last, what the cost in human life may be and what sacrifices all of us must bring. But one thing is certain, and I speak for myself, for 800 priests and 1,000,000 of Catholics, the moment the President of the United States affixed his signature to the resolutions of Congress, all differences of opinion ceased. We stand seriously, solidly and loyally behind them. They have perhaps information that is hidden from us; they may know that danger threatens this nation from more than the one quarter towards which we are all looking. But in any case they are the elected representatives of the people; this is a government of the people and by the people. We have chosen them and into

their hands we have given the reins of government and by their decisions we must abide, otherwise we would prove unworthy of the blessing of a free democracy. And so in this hour of crisis I pledge the loyalty of our Catholic people to our flag. I say this not in a burst of enthusiasm, carried away by the excitement of the moment or just as an empty figure of speech. For by our acts we will be judged, not by words. Soon will many of our young men leave home to step into the ranks of the army or navy. The old Church that looked after them at home will follow them, too, to the battlefield. God knows that we need priests sorely, but we will economize our forces here that they may go with the soldier boys."

Catholics are taught to render to Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar — to love and to honor their flag if need be unto death, for God has commanded it. Catholics are taught to render to God what belongs to God — to take up their cross following after our Blessed Lord into the bliss of our Heavenly Home.

V

WOULD CORRUPT THE *ARMY* AND THE *NAVY*

NOT merely a national view but rather a world view is necessary to encompass the meaning of Socialist propaganda, for the simple reason that its aim is the undoing of nations in the interest of the International. It is not readjustment, not even reorganization within the commonwealth, nor is it a league of nations for the better protection of individual and national rights that it seeks. Yet, it may fairly be said that it is because a remedy has not yet been applied — although it was long since found and designated *Christian Democracy* by Pope Leo XIII — in defense of the hewers of wood, in defense of the smaller and weaker nations against the imperialistic designs of larger and stronger nations that Socialism stalks over the earth with the stride of seven leagued boots.

They want to expropriate the expropriators — a classless society.

We want that the several classes in society shall deal justly one with the other.

They want the land and capital now in private hands confiscated by the proletariat of the world.

We want that private property shall be maintained, that employers shall produce, transport and exchange

commodities on the basis of equity and that wage earners shall receive the full value of their toil.

They want a dead level of mediocre folk with the individual as the unit of the animalistic herd.

We want an infinite variety of home life that corresponds to the multitudinous gifts, high and low with which mankind has been endowed.

They want the monogamic family to make its exit upon the entrance of the whole female sex into the public industries.

We want the Christian home to be that central place on earth most like to heaven above.

They want to corrupt the army and navy that the nation may be without defense from their intrigues within and from their assaults without.

We want to maintain the army and navy as a bulwark of strength against disorder at home and a sure guard against aggressions from abroad.

Now, since Socialism takes advantage of every opportunity to discredit and to undermine the vocation of the soldier and the sailor and to inoculate them with disloyal thoughts and to incite them to treasonable acts, we believe it a patriotic duty to set forth the facts in proof of this menace, that threatens to break the morale of our army and navy.

We do not come to the defense of war for the glory of war — though we would not take away one iota of honor from those who give their blood at the call of their home-land. What we mean to do is so to extend the voice of the Vicar of Christ that his sound reasoning,

relative to armed force, may win the admiration of well intentioned men, all unaccustomed to the voice of the Church. Then we may be sure that such will give their aid in driving from our midst those opinions and sentiments that make for desolation.

As all should know the Catholic Church has but one voice — since Truth is Truth with nothing added and nothing taken away. Yet, just because Truth is *absolute* men may bespeak it in a multitude of forms yet never change its meaning. The Great Doctor, St. Augustine, in reviewing this matter makes the reflection:

"If Christian discipline condemned all wars, the Gospel would have given this counsel of salvation to the soldiers who asked what they should do, that they should throw away their arms and withdraw themselves from the military service altogether. But it says to them, 'Do violence to no man, calumniate no one, and be content with your wages,' St. Luke iii, 14. Surely it does not prohibit the military service to those whom it commands to be content with their wages." (Epirthe V. Ad Marcelium, C 2, 15 n.)

Our Lord's commendation of the Centurian: *"I have not found so great faith in Israel."* (Matt. VIII, 5–10) surely takes cognizance of the fact that the Centurian has soldiers under him who go there or come here at his commands. Here there is not slightest suggestion that this officer should abandon the military service. Again, another soldier —*"Cornelius, a centurian of that which is called the Italian band,"* is referred to by Christ as *"a religious man, and fearing God —"* (Acts X, 1–2.) It certainly were unreason-

able to assume that this appreciation would have been given to one who followed a vocation against the divine law.

The great Apostle, St. Paul, says (Heb. xi, 32–34): "The time would fail me to tell of Gedeon, Barac, Samson, Jephthe, David, Samuel and the prophets: Who by faith conquered kingdoms, wrought justice, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of liars, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, recovered strength from weakness, became valiant in battle, put to flight the armies of foreigners."

This then is and ever has been the doctrine of the Christian Church, that the armed force of the nation is not alone proper but necessary. That, therefore, the vocation of the soldier may be followed with honor by the most religious of men.

As we reflect, we give honor to the soldier — Washington — who, under God, formed us a nation. So it is that the issue admits of no equivocation. Every citizen must stand for the integrity of the army and navy.

But Socialists will not! They reject the law of God and the love of country as a binding force, while national integrity has no place in their philosophy. *National Integrity* is a bulwark that they mean to pull down, by a propaganda that never slumbers nor sleeps. Since it is over the dead body of the nation that Socialism climbs into its own, we may not expect a surcease until its ill directed energy is spent. The date of that time is for liberty lovers to fix.

It must be kept in mind that however rebellious men

are, fundamental principles cannot be ignored. God is not mocked. Consequently it is certain that Socialism will give proof — though in a negative way — that loyalty is necessary to their scheme of a "new society." To corrupt our soldiery is right since it advances *the revolution.* But, once a government is in the hands of the Marxians, loyalty to death is demanded of their soldiery. Here then, is the key by which to understand the issue we are confronted with — here is the proof that although loyalty is scorned as an obligation to Cæsar, under God, loyalty is now in Russia demanded unto death by those men who have set up a proletarian dictatorship there as the first step in the conquest of the world. We quote: —

THE OATH OF ENLISTMENT OF SOVIET SOLDIERS

1. Son of the People, worker and citizen of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, I enroll in the Workers' and Peasants' Army.

2. Before the working class of Russia and the whole world I swear: to respect my position as soldier; to conscientiously undergo my military training; to safeguard the interests of the Army and the People, and to defend them with my heart's blood.

3. I swear to submit strictly to revolutionary discipline, and to obey without question the orders of my chiefs, designated by authority of the Workers' and Peasants' Government.

4. I swear to commit no action detrimental to the reputation of the free citizens of the Russian Soviet Republic; I swear to consecrate myself, in thought and in action, to our ideal of the emancipation of all the working classes.

5. I swear, that at the call of the Workers' and Peasants'

Government, I will risk my life to defend the Soviet Republic against whatever dangers there may be, from wherever it may come, and that I will give whatever I have of strength and of life for the defense of the Soviet Republic, of Socialism and of the brotherhood of the people.

6. Let me be delivered to the contempt of the People and the severe punishment of the laws of the Revolution if I violate the oath! ("Revolutionary Age," Boston, March 29, 1919.)

We purpose now to exhibit piece after piece of testimony in support of our conviction that Socialists would corrupt the army and navy. Thousands of copies of a crude book —"War, What For?"— by George R. Kirkpatrick (Vice-presidential nominee, Socialist Party — 1916) were sent forth to "drain the recruiting stations and thin the ranks of the soldiery."

Every occasion is made an opportunity of belittling a soldier's life. "Soldiers are potential strike-breakers." (*New York Call,* June 3, 1916.)

"The American Militia is made up of young whippersnappers, mostly sons of capitalists who go into it for fun and the purpose of killing strikers when they turn out." (Pamphlet, Daniel De Leon.)

"Policemen, sheriffs and marshals are the same as soldiers, so far as you are concerned," that is to say, the hirelings of the capitalist class are ever enemies of the working class."

Perhaps the most widely circulated single attack upon the soldier was written by Jack London — the famous or infamous author. His estimate of the soldier has been printed in nearly every one of their English lan-

guage papers, on circulars and postcards, and spread broadcast throughout the world. We present it as published in the *Buffalo Socialist* (Sept. 20, 1913) together with the Editor's introduction:

"During the Perry Celebration one of the features was a grand military display. Men paraded in all kinds of fancy uniforms, and the best bands that could be procured were in the procession. Soldiers, sailors, artillery and quick-firing guns were toted through the streets, not only for the amusement of the visitors, but for the purpose of inspiring unthinking youths who might be deceived into joining these institutions of multiplied murder. For the benefit of the young men of this city we reprint Jack London's 'Good Soldier.' Cut it out and paste it up in a conspicuous place.

THE 'GOOD SOLDIER'

(By Jack London)

"Young Men: The lowest aim in your life is to become a soldier. The good soldier never tries to distinguish right from wrong. He never thinks; never reasons; he only obeys. If he is ordered to fire on his fellow citizens, on his friends, on his neighbors, on his relatives, he obeys without hesitation. If he is ordered to fire down a crowded street when the poor are clamoring for bread, he obeys, and sees the gray hairs of age stained with red and the life tide gushing from the breasts of women, feeling neither remorse nor sympathy. If he is ordered off as a firing squad to execute a hero or benefactor, he fires without hesitation, though he knows the bullet will pierce the noblest heart that ever beat in human breast.

"A good soldier is a blind, heartless, soulless, murderous machine. He is not a man. He is not a brute,

for brutes only kill in self-defense. All that is human in him, all that is divine in him, all that constitutes the man has been sworn away when he took the enlistment roll. His mind, his conscience, aye, his very soul, are in the keeping of his officer.

"No man can fall lower than a soldier — it is a depth beneath which he cannot go. Keep the boys out of the army. It is hell.

"Down with the army and the navy. We don't need killing institutions. We need life-giving institutions."

"Our Gene,"— the genial Debs is not to be outrun by the most celebrated amongst socialist authors:

"The workingman who turns soldier becomes the hired assassin of the capitalist master. He goes on the murderers' payroll at fifty cents a day under orders to kill anybody, anywhere, at any time. This is the vile abject thing we call a soldier. Lower than the slimy, dripping depth to which this craven creature crawls neither man nor beast can even sink in time or eternity." (*Army and Navy Journal,* Dec. 25, 1916.)

The occasion when, by our then President Roosevelt, colored troops were discharged for rioting, and other conduct unbecoming to members of the National Guard, at Brownsville, Texas, supplied an unwonted opportunity for displaying contempt for soldiers, who volunteer their services in defense of our country. It was taken full advantage of. We quote excerpts from statements made by National Committeemen of the Socialist Party, giving reasons for their vote upon a pending motion to condemn President Roosevelt's action. (S. P. Official Bulletin, Vol. 3, No. 5.)

Wells Le Fevre (Arkansas)

"I vote no.— We might as well ask for 'justice' from the soldier's gun as for the soldier. When he enlisted he surrendered all his rights and became a part of an infernal machine for a more infernal purpose."

Comrade Woodside (Colorado)

"For my part I would like to see the entire army dishonorably discharged." "They are the lackeys of capitalism and as such ready at all times to do their dirty and criminal work."

A. J. Pettigrew (Florida)

"I vote no.— Not because I don't want justice done, but because soldiers are not the instruments of justice."

A. L. Smith (Louisiana)

"His motive spells treason and could come from none but a traitor." "That base and iniquitous wretch known as a soldier." "The soldiers' business is to kill — to kill what? People. What kind of people? Working people. Did you ever know of soldiers killing any other kind?" "It should be clear that these beasts are not members of our class — the working class."

J. E. Voss (Tennessee)

"We cannot see how a Socialist can put himself in the same class as a lot of uninformed murderers — not conscripted, but voluntary — whose sole mission is to protect capitalists' interests and shoot down the working class producers."

W. H. Mills (Texas)

"The Soldiery, whatever their color, are the murderous mercenaries of predatory and repressive capitalism. Their mission is to murder the working class —"

Alf. Wagenknecht (Washington)

"It truly seems to me that every time the capitalist class does anything to disorganize its own forces, no matter how it does it, it is to our benefit. These soldiers, formerly servants of the class opposed to us, may now, after a few more knocks in the real slave market, become what we are."

Robert Bandlow (Ohio)

"In voting 'no' — it is to emphasize that in the class war these negro soldiers are upholding the system which accentuates the misery of the proletarian. The Socialist Party is not called upon to meddle in the affairs of the bourgeosie."

F. L. Swartz (Pennsylvania)

"I would hail the day when the President of the United States and the plutes' representatives of the whole world would give all their soldiers dishonorable discharges."

Referring to the "reasons" given by these Socialist National Committeemen for upholding disobedience, disloyalty and treason as the real duty of the soldiers as against their alleged duty to keep fellow workingmen in poverty and to kill them, Victor L. Berger, in his own paper, makes this comment: The statements "*accom-*

panying the votes of the National Committeemen of the Socialist Party give some idea of the prevailing opinion of progressive working people on the subject of government soldiery."

Yet, it is their purpose by the spread of treasonable literature to win these "dastards," these "reptiles," these "cowards," these lowest characters imaginable to their glorious cause — Socialism, the religion of the working-class. Surely, such were quite fitting associates!

Their means are like in character to their ultimate aim. There is no beating about the bush, for the hope is boldly expressed that mutiny in the army and navy shall become an *order* of especial use in the confiscation of capital. The *Socialist Voice* (Oakland, Cal.) sent a

CIRCULAR LETTER TO ALL SOCIALIST AND REVOLUTIONARY PAPERS

It went the rounds. All over the country there was a vigorous ringing of charges upon its forceful phrases: *"There is such a thing as mutiny."* Yes, *"general mutiny simultaneous with a general strike."* Since *"The Socialist Party frankly avows its intention of appropriating the means of production,"* it is certain that *"the army and navy must be turned into a state of ferment."* The way to do this is to deluge the soldiers and the sailors "with good class conscious propaganda and the results will be astonishing." At Socialist command, the guns shall be turned upon the capitalist class — *For there is such a thing as mutiny.*

It was somewhat astonishing that this circular should have been published in the *Christian Socialist* (Chicago, May 15, 1907). We give some paragraphs taken therefrom:

"Do you realize that there exists in the United States to-day two of the most feudalistic institutions in the world? We refer to the United States Army and the United States Navy. The discipline in these two institutions is such as to render them the most powerful and at the same time the most servile tools of the capitalist class. It is simply appalling to contemplate the damage these two institutions could do the working class in case the present revolution assumed a violent aspect.

"*This Is Not a Theory, But an Oft' Demonstrated Fact.* The murder, by the artillery of the men, women and children in the Southern Philippines,—the brutal slaughter of the French proletarians during the Paris commune, the Nevska Prospect butchery, and others too numerous to mention, all indicate that the policy of the capitalist class is a policy of bloodshed and murder.

"It has long been recognized that the rulers and capitalists, synonymous terms, have exalted private property above human life—. This has been proven so often as to render illustrations superfluous. Now, the Socialist party frankly avows its intention of appropriation of the means of production. There is no beating about the bush; we, the workers, want full product of our labor, and we propose to get it; we further realize that we can never get it under the present system. To change the system implies the taking over of the means of production and using them for the common good instead of the good of the few, as at present. Do you think the capitalists will like this? Do you think they will tamely submit to the taking of their property by legal or extra legal means? Is it possible that they who

own the courts, the legislature and the executive powers of government will make no effort to use these powers to protect their sacred property? If you think they will submit without a struggle, you are — pardon the frankness — an idiot.

"Suppose, for instance, the Socialist vote of this country became a menace — and it will no doubt become a serious menace — to the capitalist class. Would the 'constitution' keep them from disfranchising the worker? Not much! Then here, as in Russia, the only weapon left the workers would be a general strike, *backed up by an armed revolution;* and in that case our only hope of winning will be to have the Army and the Navy in such a state of ferment that they will cast their lot with the workers instead of being loyal to their present masters.

"Would it not be a humorous piece of poetic justice to turn the guns of the capitalists against them? And it can be done, *because it has been done more than once.*

"There is a greater per cent. of class-conscious sailors and soldiers than of proletarians, but as yet they are unconscious of the class-consciousness. But let the Socialists *deluge them with good class-conscious propaganda,* and the results will be astonishing, especially to our masters — for nothing astonishes a socialist. So long as the Army and the Navy are loyal to the capitalist class, it will be well-nigh impossible to introduce the cooperative commonwealth; *but armies are not loyal to their masters; there is such a thing as a mutiny!*

"Take Russia, for example. Could the revolution have made such progress had it not been for the mutinies of the raw troops and the sailors? And if 'oppressed Russia' can successfully conduct an anti-military campaign of socialist agitation, why shouldn't 'free America'? In the United States Army every enlisted man must be able to read English; we can easily reach them; they have no delusions about

our 'Little Father' (Theodora I), because they are wise to him. The United States Government — always imcompetent and impotent — will be *powerless to stop our propaganda.*

"Many other prominent socialists, including the editor of many socialist papers, have already endorsed the idea and not a single socialist, so far, has condemned it.

"With 'the men behind the guns' on our side, we have nothing to fear, for courts, kings and military dictators are powerless when they have no guns to back up their decisions; and 'God' is but a royal alias for a 'standing army.' All it requires is the properly directed effort on our part, and we can have a *general mutiny simultaneous with the general strike.*"

It is their brag that "not a single Socialist paper condemned" this appeal to treason. We may be sure that this *Circular Letter* presents a rather plausible picture to those men who have for long forsworn their allegiance to their country. Their shibboleth — No God, no country — expresses their case consistently. Almighty God is not merely *unknown,* He is "a royal alias," to Whom the Socialists on guard pay scorn instead of honor; while they are constantly on the watch to corrupt men behind the guns.

Thus the case stands — a world-wide Bolsheviki propaganda that rises like a tidal wave to engulf nations made weak because of political injustice and economic oppression. Hence this question is pertinent — what effect should Socialist propaganda have upon the great capitalists of our country? To say nothing in the interest of their souls' salvation, and if from no higher motive than enlightened self-interest they should be, be-

cause they can be, the first to make an effective move towards social justice by a readjustment in industry — commerce — finance.

Liberty is in the air fanning the flame of justice that men may be free before the law and that equity shall be done in the market of the world. This is merely another way of remembering that men are made in the image of God and that not forever will they submit to a violation of their inborn rights, political and economic, by the might and the greed of the few. Especially now since with the aid of a little true history they hark back to the echo of the past — to the guilds of the middle ages within which master and men settled their differences not by might or crooked wisdom but by the even tones of the voice of the Church. Then, wage-earners were not treated as a mere commodity-labor — to be bought at the lowest prices and furnished with the meanest accommodations. But rather they were an elemental part of that Christian society — that Brotherhood of Man — that was engrafted, by the Church of Christ, into the affairs of a Pagan and barbarous world. When these guilds, of culture and of craft, were despoiled by the hand of an apostate priest and a wicked king, the best and the bravest were sent to the rack and the scaffold while the defenseless multitude were ground in the dust. Slowly, since God is good and the spirit of man is free, a readjustment so vast as to be planned by no man's hand is bringing, once more, the people into their own. By the genius of men the bounties of God are now set so free that the necessities, aye the elegancies of living

are seen to be sufficient for all. Truly it is not a dearth of material goods but the arrogant spirit of the rich that straps on the back of the poor a burden too great for men to bear.

Evidently the conclusion is plain — The captains of industry — commerce — finance must choose between self-reformation or the deluge. Yet, the wisdom of God is in no man's hand; while the innocent ever suffer with the guilty.

So much for this phase of Socialist-Bolsheviki propaganda in our country. What does the scribe tell of the preparation of the soil for the *revolution* over seas? There is the self-same determined attempt to undermine the loyalty of the army and navy in every country in which there has and is an active Socialist movement. Marx and Engels heavily oversowed the sentiment of national loyalty with the cockle of international bravado and much of it has ripened into rank fruit throughout Europe. With confidence Victor Grayson (Wigand, Eng. Sep. 23, 1907) expresses the view that Socialist propaganda is taking effect:

"I am looking to the time when the British soldier will emulate his brother of the National Guard of France and, when asked to fire upon the People who are fighting for their rights, will turn his rifle in the other direction. We are making a Socialist of Tommy Atkins by propaganda work in the Army."

Bernard Shaw's voice is still more powerful. By tongue and pen he has long served the cause of *the*

revolution, by breaking down faith in God; love of country; the integrity of the family and the belief in private property. His estimate of the soldier is given in "John Bull's Other Island":

"The Soldier is an anachronism of which we must get rid — military service produces moral imbecility, ferocity, and cowardice.— For permanent work, the soldier is worse than useless; such efficiency as he has is the result of dehumanization and disablement. His whole training tends to make him a weakling."

L'Humanite, the leading Socialist daily published in Paris, gives out an interview with Bernard Shaw that is characteristic:

"If war should eventually come to England, the English Socialists should not hesitate to advise the sabotage of the Dreadnoughts."

Asked if such advice would likely be carried into effect, Shaw said:

"We may reasonably hope so. The British navy has become indoctrinated with the new ideas. You must know that there is neither a destroyer nor a cruiser that does not carry with it on each cruise new revolutionary pamphlets, that the crew of the *Jupite,* a warship of the first class, was disbanded some years ago because there were at least a hundred anti-militarists among them."

Army and Navy Journal makes it the subject of an editorial (May 6, 1911):

"SOCIALIST CRIPPLING OF WARSHIPS"

"The frequent inexplicable disasters to French warships which have so often been held up as a want of naval seamanship are now, since the discovery of sabotage, attributed to these cowardly miscreants who cripple a ship in such a way that it becomes helpless at a critical moment and either goes on the rocks, founders, or is the victim of a mysterious explosion in the boiler rooms. A few months ago the sights of the big guns of *H. M. S. Irresistible* were thrown overboard, and this disabling of the armament was ascribed to members of the crew, although the perpetrators could not be found. The fact that so serious an expression of mutinous discontent came at a time when the Socialists boast that the Royal Navy is honeycombed with their theories is sufficient to arouse inquiry as to where such agitation will stop."

It is by holding in mind the philosophy of Socialism that one is enabled to understand why the deeds of "these cowardly miscreants who cripple a ship in such a way that it becomes helpless at a critical moment" are works of heroic virtue in the view of those who arrogate to themselves the mission of creating the "new society." The *Chicago Daily Socialist* (May 25, 1909) exultantly announces that *"Socialists Mar Ship Launching."* It tells with pride of the occasion in Brest, France, where Socialists singing "L'Internationa1," prevented the battleship *Danton* from leaving the stocks and rejoices that "a strong Socialist spirit prevails among the employees" of the works. The source of these disasters to French battleships is coolly pointed out — the new revolutionary pamphlets, so in-

dustriously circulated by the comrades, first created the "Socialist spirit" and this same *spirit* finds its outlet in sabotage. Without a doubt, the battleship *Iéna* was deliberately set on fire by this spirit that animated the Socialist sailory.

From Norway came the news, through their leading Socialist Daily (*New York Call,* Sept. 20, 1911), that nearly two hundred soldiers were court-martialed and sentenced in Christiania "for breaking the military code." The comment following encourages others to do likewise:

"There is, however, no doubt that the Socialist propaganda is immediately responsible for the revolt." — and that "the Socialist agitation among the Soldiers continues unabated."

Although the spirit of revolt is carried by Socialist propaganda into the military system of every country in Europe it shall be sufficient to show their efforts to undermine loyalty, somewhat in detail, here at home.

The Dick Military Law

Ever alert to further their cause the Dick Military law was made a storm center of agitation, long before it was put into operation. The ground upon which their argument rings its fruitful charges is the fear that when the day comes — as come it must — for the class conscious proletariat to "mount the barricades and fight like tigers" a well ordered and loyal army may be sufficiently strong to put down the *Revolution.* Hence, the Socialist duty is to weaken the defensive arm of the nation. Their agitators have no scruples as to the

means to be employed since the norm of their philosophy sets it down that what furthers *the cause* is moral and what retards the cause is immoral. In 1908 their most proficient propagandists began to center opposition upon this and that provision of the Dick Military Law. Resolutions, newspaper articles, essays and editorials by the hundreds have been written against the law, while it has been made the theme of thousands of lectures and soapbox talks. The Nat. Com. of the Socialist Party (Oct., 1917) endorsed the plan for a

"National campaign of protest against the so-called Dick Military Law and advises all divisions of our party organization to hold meetings for education and protest . . ."

Their *Official Bulletin* (Oct., 1907) in ringing tones advises the comrades to conduct meetings with "the same vigor as characterized the Moyer-Haywood meettings" which contributed in no slight degree to the discharge of the murder case against their idol — "Big Bill" Haywood. In voting yes upon the proposed campaign the National Committeeman of Lousiana, Van Brook, says:

"In regard to protest against the 'Dick Military Bill' will say I do not see how any Socialist could well vote against repealing this infamous bill, when considering the power it gives the dominating class over the rights of the laboring class."

The Pennsylvania National Committeeman, James Maurer, agrees: "I cannot think of any better work for us Socialists than to hammer their fiendish plot to

pieces." The Ohio National Committeeman, Divine, rejoices that the Toledo Central Labor Union was lined up to protest "ere this motion was made."

In passing it is but just to say that very few of the trade union bodies were inveigled into adopting resolutions in protest to this law, by the Socialist agitators within their unions. These bodies were somewhat informed by the action of the American Federation of Labor, as it had reported adversely about this time upon a resolution against the Dick Military Law at one of its national conventions.

Perhaps it should not be surprising, since none are so blind as those who refuse to see, that even men from Missouri had not demanded to be shown what in fact the provisions of the Dick Law are. Surely there had been time enough for thought for investigation. But evidently no candid examination of the proposed bill was made, although it was thoroughly discussed in Congress and throughout the country, before its passage. Nor has there been an honest attempt to understand its content since its passage in 1903, for denunciation waxed hot and furious up to the time of our entrance into the world war. Which, of course, supplied Socialism with a much more fruitful source of treasonable propaganda. From a multitude of data we select quotations to show how vehement Socialist opposition is to an efficient military system. The meaning is clear, since their only hope is in a "Red Guard."

In the Socialist State convention of Missouri (Jefferson City, Sept. 13, 1910) it was "*Resolved, that we*

demand the repeal of the so-called Dick Military Law which, by order of the President of these United States, makes possible conscript soldiers of free citizens, and is, therefore, against the spirit and character of a free democratic country." Of course, all good citizens know that this declaration is as false as it is unpatriotic. Besides, if lovers of democracy are not ready to give their lives in defense of a free country, surely there is no security for the blessings of peace.

The Socialist Party in Convention (1904) declared: "*By the Dick Militia bill liability to compulsory service has been imposed upon every male citizen between the ages of 18 and 45, and that merely at the caprice of the President.*" (Page 165, Proceedings, S.P., Nat. Com., May 4, 1914.)

The *American Socialist* — National official organ of the Socialist Party (Chicago, Aug. 15, 1914) confuses their readers by asking: "*Do you know* that under the Dick military law *every able-bodied male citizen* of the United States over 18 and under 45 *is a member* of the National Guard 'Reserve Army,' and can be *legally summoned to military service by the president without the authority of Congress?* And do you know that this is a greater military power than the head of any other government on earth is given? *Do you know* that the working-class of the United States is up against the most cunning group of capitalists in all the world? Think!"

These leaders should have known, but perhaps they did not, that what they call "the nigger in the wood-

pile" namely, that universal liability to military service for every able-bodied man within specific age did not come into existence together with their mental excitement. As a matter of fact this section of the law is as old as our Republic itself. It is the provision under which President Lincoln called out our troops during the Civil War and President McKinley during the Spanish-American War. This section, the law of May *8, 1792*, enacted during the Washington administration reads:

"EVERY ABLE-BODIED MALE CITIZEN OF THE RESPECTIVE STATES, RESIDENT THEREIN, WHO IS OF THE AGE OF EIGHTEEN YEARS, AND UNDER THE AGE OF FORTY-FIVE YEARS, SHALL BE ENROLLED IN THE MILITIA." (Section 1625, Revised Statutes.)

But why should facts be regarded by Socialist propaganda? Their mission is to create what is rationally unthinkable—"a classless society." Yet the *American Socialist* would have the comrades:

"THINK!"

"This outrageous law was sneaked through both houses and signed by Theodore, the best friend the trusts ever had."—(*International Socialist Review*, Sept., 1910.) Yet current history testifies that the matter was several times up before the 57th congress, during which time copies of the bill had been placed in the hands of leading military authorities and had received their unanimous approval.

"Think!"

"So you see, brother workingmen you belong to what is virtually the Standing Army of the United States, and are liable to the call of the President at any moment. You may be called upon to go down to Mexico and protect American property, though in your 'Own United States' you are not permitted to possess any," says the editor of the *Commonwealth.* (Everett, Washington, Aug. 28, 1913.)

If its readers were to think they might realize that sound opinion takes neither one extreme or the other; and if they were to read a little history on this point they might realize that American citizens have ever been subject to *call.*

"Think" how irresponsible Socialist speech is! Yet, there is no proof that they evolved from the monkey as they delight to believe. "Our Gene" Debs says:

"Your time may come in America. Every man from 18 to 45 years is a soldier whether you know it or not. The Dick military law was passed in a surreptitious manner. You are not to be consulted as to whether you are killed or not." (The *California Social Democrat,* Los Angeles, Feb. 13, 1915.)

Even the headlines are enough food for thought for these makers of proletarian society:

"THIS BEATS CONSCRIPTION!

The Plutes Put this Over on You During Roosevelt's Reign; Through the Aid of Senator Dick — Accordingly; You are Forced to Go to War; If They So Desire"

(*New England Socialist,* Dec. 8, 1915.)

While the exclamation "*Every American Wage-Slave a Soldier!*" sets many an embryo Bolshevik on fire for his cause; so it is an easy matter to keep up a continual agitation for what is imagined to be freedom from "capitalist rule."

Yet, after all, the multitudes who follow after their Socialist leaders are, in truth, more sinned against than sinning. They are God's little ones, the little brothers of those who are given great talents for organization, for the production of wealth on a vast scale. It is because this brotherhood has been so flagrantly denied in these our days of luxurious living that invites this Scourge of God to cleanse the State. Since it were better to have a millstone hanged about one's neck than to offend one of the little ones.

However, quite to one side from the perverse spirit cultivated by such opposition to a good law, it illustrates clearly a characteristic of Socialist propaganda. The flattery of ignorance plays an immense rôle in gathering together this force of revolt. The Socialist leaders boast that there are no leaders in the movement; the followers of the leaders boast no less loudly that Socialists have no leaders! All the while leaders strive to hold leadership and to gain leadership. So a chief means of bringing converts into camp is the flattery of the working-class by their leaders that they are destined to create a *free society*. And the self-flattery of the rank and file that they have no leaders since they have instituted the referendum vote. To this double and twisted ignorance and bad faith is added the taunt of

the leaders that the workers follow like slaves after their capitalist masters. On the other hand the workers hold the lash of suspicion over their leaders — the fear that they will go over to the capitalist class in obedience to *self-interest,* the strongest motive that Socialist philosophy acknowledges. All the while mistrust breeds mistrust in the sanity of things human. Truly the blind lead the blind, since it is safe to say that ninety-nine out of the hundred take their opinions from their spokesmen. Not merely with regard to the Dick military law, but upon all questions presented by those who threaten the stability of government throughout the world. Thus it is, while leaders deny, and are denied, leadership, they flatter their followers and mount up to the dizzy throne of irresponsible power. It is said, with much truth, that all the Bolsheviki leaders of Russia got their training on the East Side of New York City. No need to question further — why all this protest for all these years against the Dick Military Law? It is merely a commonplace event in working for Socialism since "there is such a thing as mutiny." It is something to fulminate against — an opportunity to indoctrinate wage-slaves with the spirit of class-conscious revolt against law and order.

We shall place in contrast the arguments that led up to this act of the 57th Congress. For a well-regulated militia had been the ambition of every President from Washington to Roosevelt, under whose administration the Dick Military Law was enacted.

President Washington (1794):

"The devising and establishing of a well-regulated militia would be a genuine source of legislative honor and a perfect title to public gratitude."

President Jefferson (1808):

"For a people who are free, and who mean to remain so, a well-organized and armed militia is their best security. It is, therefore, incumbent on us at every meeting to revise the condition of the militia, and to ask ourselves if it is prepared to repel a powerful enemy at every point of our territories exposed to invasion. Some of the States have paid a laudable attention to this subject; but every degree of neglect is to be found among others."

President Lincoln (1861):

"The recommendation of the Secretary (of war) for the organization of the militia on a uniform basis is a subject of vital importance to the future safety of the country and is commended to the serious attention of Congress."

President Roosevelt (1901):

"Our militia law is obsolete and worthless. The organization and armament of the National Guard of the several States — should be made identical with those provided for the regular forces. The obligations and duties of the guard in time of war should be carefully defined.— It is utterly impossible in the excitement and haste of impending war to do this satisfactorily if the arrangements have not been made long beforehand."

It was our experience made in the Spanish-American

War (1898) that forced upon the attention of the 57th Congress the utter inadequacy of the old statutes of 1792. During the process of mobilization some of the volunteer regiments were found practically without arms or equipment. We have need only to say, that the consequences of the Dick Military Law have made of our military force one harmonious whole — a bulwark of national security.

Even so, the impudence of Socialist propaganda knows no bounds. In "*War, What For?*" (p. 171) a book that Eugene V. Debs calls "an immortal achievement," the author — some time vice-presidential nominee of the Socialist Party, declares that he "has urged capitalist editors all over

> "The United States to publish the Dick law. He has offered to pay for space at liberal advertising rates in which to print ten to one hundred lines of this law. He has not succeeded in finding a capitalist editor who would thus reveal the treachery of his class lurking in this law. This law is a rough-ground sword against the rousing, rising workingclass in the United States, a law more important to the workingclass than any other law passed since the middle of the nineteenth century."

This unblushing effrontery passes at par as an unanswerable argument — a spur to urge Socialists on to do what they can to promote the spirit of mutiny within and to do what they can to prevent American citizens from joining either the army or the navy. It is fair to conclude that the letter from our then Secretary of War correctly expressed the mind of the country and

that his view of the Dick military bill, then pending, has been realized.

"I am confident that when it is enacted and put into force the organization and regulation of the citizen soldiery, upon whom our country must in the main rely in its future wars, will be far more efficient than it has ever been before, and that it will give to the United States at a minimum of expense a defensive power greater than could be obtained by the expenditure of a million dollars annually in maintaining a larger standing army, and I am also confident that it will greatly promote the practical importance, the dignity, and efficiency of the National Guard throughout the United States.

"Sincerely yours,
"(Signed) ELIHU ROOT,
"*Secretary of War.*"

Here again, we point out the proof that the repudiation of principles legitimate to organized society is merely a means to the overthrow of Christian civilization. As has been seen, conscription is assumed to be an outrage — a crime — when it is used in the protection of a nation — of our own country. But, when it is used in the interest of the *world revolution* then it is a commendable means of securing complete power by the working class. In Russia — as they imagine, the first of all the nations to fall under the sway of the red flag — conscription is now not a reprobate principle but rather "an honor given only to the toilers." We quote from *The Fundamental Law* of the Constitution adopted at the 5th All-Russian Congress of Soviets (July 10, 1918):

"For the purpose of securing the working class in the possession of the complete power, and in order to eliminate all possibility of restoring the power of the exploiters, it is decreed that all toilers be armed, and that a Socialist Red Army be organized and the propertied class be disarmed.

"For the purpose of defending the victory of the great peasants' and workers' revolution, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic recognizes the duty of all citizens of the Republic to come to the defense of their Socialist Fatherland, and it, therefore, introduces universal military training. The honor of defending the revolution with arms is given only to the toilers, and the non-toiling elements are charged with the performance of other military duties."

Citizen Army

In the nature of the case one must look for the cause of Socialist action to principles that are in direct opposition to those that have ever and shall ever, prompt men to acts of loyal and disinterested service to their country. Otherwise one may not understand the motives of the men who work for the *Revolution.* It is no slight matter constantly to hold in mind a false concept of human nature — that the individual and the race is utterly void of an innate consciousness of right and wrong. Yet, this must be done to gage correctly the Socialist assumption that a series of class-struggles has controlled the actions of men up to the days in which we live. That the pending class-struggle is final, because it is expected to climax in the overthrow of the capitalist class of the whole world by the working class. During the transitional period, a proletarian dictatorship — such as that of Lenin in Russia — shall,

upon the ruins of private property operated for profit, establish an administration of industry by a classless society. It should thus be seen that the Socialist vision reduces the moral force of religion to the status of superstition and that it would reduce the military force to impotency by converting the soldiers to its perverse view of all things human.

The citizen army has long been a topic for the Socialist orator. He has appealed to popular sympathy on the ground of lessening the burden of taxation due to the maintenance of large standing armies in continental Europe, and at once to the hope of his comrades of arming the workers for revolt. One after another their international congresses have declared for the "citizen army." At Stuttgart (1907) it was resolved:

> "The Congress sees in the democratic organization of armies, as expressed in the so-called 'citizen armies,' in place of standing armies, a good guarantee against warlike attacks of one nation by another, and against the existence of national differences."

This resolve was not meant to apply directly to the United States or to Great Britain, countries which have no standing armies in the Continental sense," as the Chairman of the Committee on Militarism reported, it was rather meant to express the objective of Socialists in general, as a means to an end.

In our own country, they generally use the "citizens' army"—"Every man a citizen, every citizen a soldier"—to connote the Swiss military system. In

"*Socialism in Theory and Practise*" (p. 30) Morris Hillquit says: "The military system of Switzerland is the Socialist model of existing military organizations."

What was dubbed "the pistol resolution" came before the convention of the American Federation of Labor regularly, year after year. Victor Berger, a delegate, was its author:

"RESOLVED, By the twenty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we declare our intention, and hereby instruct all affiliated bodies, to hold absolutely aloof from all connection with the militia, until the military system in vogue in Switzerland, or a similar system, is adopted in the United States."

To be sure, Mr. Berger's resolution was defeated time after time, as it was presented, yet, it was deemed a victory for Socialism! Did it not give Comrade Berger an opportunity to advise workingmen "to hold aloof from all connection with the army?" Did not his brilliant talk furnish copy for the press?

Among Socialists it is a common practise to hold the militia up to scorn before audiences, in their newspapers, pamphlets and books, as a strike-breaking instrument of the capitalist class. Whether or not the community was justified in calling for the protection of the militia during a strike makes not the slightest difference, since Socialism does not thrive upon sincerity. Undoubtedly, the militia has at times been unduly used to break the backbone of strikes. But such occasions have been few compared to those where wholesale

slaughter of life and destruction of millions of property would have resulted had not an armed force been on guard. The Lawrence, Mass., strike of 1912 is a case in point. We were privileged to witness the good work of the old Massachusetts Ninth. But for its presence, Haywood, Ettor, Giovanatti and the followers of the "No God, no master" element would have laid waste the city and sent thousands of persons, unprepared, to death. There should be no mistaking their intention. The *International Socialist Review* (Feb., 1912) reports an address by Mr. Haywood in Cooper Union, New York City, delivered under the auspices of the Socialist Party that typifies their revolutionary sentiments:

"*I despise the law* (tremendous applause and shouts of 'No!') and I am not a law-abiding citizen. (Applause.) And more than that, no Socialist *can* be a law-abiding citizen. (Applause.) When we come together and are of a common mind, and the purpose of our mind is to overthrow the capitalist system, we become conspirators then against the United States Government. And, certainly it is our purpose to abolish this government (Applause) and establish in its place an industrial democracy (Applause). Now, we haven't any hesitation in saying that that is our aim and purpose. Am I correct? (Tremendous applause.) Am I absolutely correct when I state this as being the position of the Socialist party not only in New York, but in the United States and of every nation in the world? (Applause.)"

To make emphatic Mr. Haywood's declaration, his address was commended editorially by the *International*

Socialist Review. "To those who want to put an end to capitalism, and who wonder whether the Socialist Party members really mean what they say when they call themselves revolutionists."

To make assurance doubly sure that "Big Bill" spoke the Socialist mind "straight out in meeting" the Emergency Convention (1917) five years later, declared: *"The end and aim of the Socialist party is revolution."* The means to the end is set out in the *Bolsheviki Call* for an International Communist Congress (Jan., 1919):

"The first task of the proletariat consists to-day of the immediate seizure of government power, substituting in its place the power of proletariat."

"The fundamental condition of the struggle is the mass action of the proletariat, developing into open armed attack on the governmental powers of Capitalism."

The expectation has been that a citizen army would supply the guns for this "mass action" against whatsoever armed force should come to the defense of civil society resting on the natural rights of men, which Socialism denies. In their fervescent imagination the Rock of Ages has been blasted once for all. Consequently any defense of the principles of the Decalogue is but an ignorant and vicious attempt to hold on to a passing order in the evolution of the race from the ape to the superman. The State Constabulary which in Pennsylvania has been wisely set up to police the rural districts and to relieve the militia from the disagreeable

duty incident to the protection of life and property in times of strike is put in the category with the militia — mere murderers for the capitalist class. It is alleged not to exist for the maintenance of peace and order, but rather it "is one of the instruments of class rule."

Their case is simply this — no defense of any kind is acceptable for the protection of civil society that recognizes and exercises the right of private property as natural to the human constitution. What is wanted is the *Red Guard* to aid the proletariat in getting possession of private capital and to defend its confiscation once it has by "right of might" come into their hands.

Of course, the citizen army is no new thing, it existed in Jamestown and in Plymouth many years before its adoption in Switzerland. Besides it is advocated by many persons for reasons quite contrary to those proposed by the followers of Marx, Engels, Hillquit and Berger. Their idea is that "each soldier should retain his firearm with at least two hundred rounds of ammunition, furnished by the government, in his home."

The *Socialism of To-day* (N. Y., 1916, p. 614), written by four persons of distinction amongst their comrades (William English Walling, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Harry W. Laidler), frankly states that "*Socialists always have in mind the great revolutionary possibility in putting arms in the hands of every citizen.*"

The same subversive motive prompts the British Socialists to advocate a citizen army. We quote from

Brougham Villiers of the Independent Labor Party. (The *Socialist Review,* London, Jan.–March, 1915.)

"Only perhaps, when the citizen army is defended on the ground that it in time of revolution a professional army would fire on the people, while a citizen army would refuse to do so, does the propaganda have any relation to other Socialist ideas."

"The idea seems to be that the people will some day rise in mass against their oppressors and demand the downfall of capitalism —. Probably in such a case an alarmed capitalist government would proclaim martial law and order out the soldiers to suppress the rising. Soldiers accustomed to barrack discipline would be more likely to obey than those of a 'citizen' army, but there is no certainty either way. There have been mutinies against intolerable orders among all sorts of troops, while even the slackest militia discipline may be enough."

The report of the debate on militarism and national defense by the 30th conference of the Social Democratic Party of Great Britain records the point that the Socialists of the Paris Commune — 1871 — were able to make their stand because the people had been armed. Arguing therefrom it was concluded that, as the people have the direct right of insurrection, with a citizen army in every country, free from military law: "*Every man would be trained in the use of arms, and when the time comes for them to shoot, every man would be able to decide which way he was going to shoot.*"

Truly, good plans will not work! In Switzerland more than one opportunity had come for the proletariat to decide which way to shoot. They decided against the Socialists' way to shoot. Whereupon the 1915 Con-

gress of the Swiss Socialists refused further support to the citizen army. Now these mutinous grapes hang so high that they sour in the sun. After all, rifles in every man's home would be of little use in an insurrection where Capitalists have the use of the government's machine guns. So it works out that "antagonism to all systems of national armament" is proposed. After much discussion over the "concoctions dished out by Berger" year after year in advocacy of the Swiss military system the 1916 convention of the Socialist Party resolved: *"The proletariat of the world has but one enemy, the capitalist class, whether at home or abroad. We must refuse to put into the hands of this enemy an armed force even under the guise of a 'democratic army,' as the workers of Australia and Switzerland have done."*

No, this does not denote a return to loyalty — to sanity. It rather indicates that this wornout mode of propaganda is being replaced by newer pieces of sedition. Miss Jane Addams aids greatly in spreading one under the ironical title: "Newer Ideals of Peace" (p. 232). What, indeed, would take place should the proletariat refuse to fight as a capitalist army? *"That, the government can not put the whole population in prison, and if it could, it would still be without material for an army, and without money for its support, is an almost irrefutable argument. We see here* (passive resistance put into practise) *at least the beginnings of a sentiment that shall, if sufficiently developed, make war impossible to an entire people."*

The Russian Bolsheviki are using another — a much more forceful but not more disloyal — method of upsetting the stability of nations. No doubt it will soon be communicated for use in our own free America: With the demand for a Red Guard under the dictatorship of their four times Presidential nominee — Eugene Victor Debs.

Making Perverts of Soldiers

The demand for a propaganda directed especially to the Army and Navy was pressed in the 1908 National Convention of the Socialist Party and it became more insistent at the Convention of 1912. Delegate John Spargo, submitted a resolution that met with unanimous approval of the body:

"Propaganda in the Army and Navy

"Whereas, In the class struggle the military is often the first and always the last resort of the ruling class; and

"Whereas, The army, the navy, the militia and the police offer a fertile field for the dissemination of Socialist teachings; and

"Whereas, The growth of Socialist thought among the armed defenders of capitalism tends to reduce the power of the ruling class to rule and outrage the working class, and thus to end the oppression and violence that labor suffers,

"Be it Resolved, That the N. E. Committee be instructed to secure the services of such a comrade or comrades as have made a special study of war and militarism, and that such comrade or comrades prepare special appropriate leaflets to distribute among soldiers, sailors, militia and police.

"Resolved, That the N. E. Committee publish such leaflets

and pamphlets and offer for sale through the usual channels, and that in addition an organized effort be made for the distribution of such leaflets among all the armed defenders of capitalist-class rule and among all military organizations and all government homes for disabled soldiers and sailors." (Indianapolis, May 16, 1912.)

Incidental to the adoption of this resolution, the discussion of a bill just passed by the Massachusetts legislature, making it a criminal offense "to talk anti-militarism," brought forth information as to what had already been done contrary to the Massachusetts law. We quote data from widely separated sections of the country:

From California, Delegate Fred. C. Wheeler:

"Recently in speaking with a sailor on one of the battleships, he told me there were 74 Socialists upon that one battleship and that they had a circulating library there and that literature (Socialist writings) was being circulated there and on other ships."

From Washington, Delegate Kate Sadler:

"I am in favor of our propaganda reaching not only the sailor but the soldier. I have lived in a navy yard town on the Pacific coast by the name of Brennerton. . . . We have had applications for membership in that local from the sailors, and we try as far as we can to organize the boys and have them organize a local upon their battleships. At one navy yard there is an organization of 100 members of the Socialist party. There is no ground so ripe for Socialism as upon the battleships. I have been upon them almost every Sunday afternoon, talking in my small way,

and I have found the field ripe. Down in Vancouver, Washington, I have sold more literature to the army boys than I have to the citizens of Vancouver. Therefore, I am willing that we should throw this back in the teeth of the Legislature of Massachusetts."

From Rhode Island, Delegate James P. Reid:

"I rise to speak upon this resolution. The Socialist movement needs this propaganda. In our state I recall, not very many weeks ago, something of the arguments made on a bill in the Rhode Island Legislature, appropriating $95,000 for an armory and for an armed guard for Rhode Island. In answer to the objections to the bill a member read a tirade against Socialism lasting one hour and a half. The point I want to make is this, that he brought those points conclusively out. He said, 'Gentlemen, I appeal to you to support unanimously this proposition, which is for the defense of this glorious country. There is an important factor that we must consider. We need a national guard; we need a national militia. We need it to suppress that organized band of traitors, Dr. Reid, Bill Haywood, John M. Work'— and he enumerated a lot more of conspirators — 'and to save the country.' The capitalists are on their job. They know what they need. It is simply force that they need, and they will use it. I appeal to you to pass unanimously this resolution, and show the capitalist class that the Socialist party are also on to their job. (Applause.)" (Proceedings, Nat. Com., S. P., Indianapolis, May 16, 1912, p. 85.)

Long before the law was written the unwritten law, resting upon the spirit of revolt, had prompted strenuous attempts at perverting the soldiers. The *Appeal to Reason* — at one time having a paid up subscription of about 400,000, not to mention its enormous bundle

order circulation — had so offended as to cause an investigation to be made by the Navy League. Nothing could have so stimulated the *Appeal;* it gave an excuse to prod its volunteer army "to get busy." *"Tends to Treason"* was proudly flaunted as the headline of an article telling of the investigation (Feb. 10, 1912). Words were not enough! — a picture of a soldier, sitting on a log in camp with his rifle resting on the ground, oblivious to all else, reading the *Appeal,* told the whole story at a glance. The members of the Agitation League had for three years been sending "five copies of our paper each week to all reading rooms connected with American army posts in the United States and its possessions and to such permanent addresses of marines as we could secure." Hereafter, the comrades were advised to send sealed packages of papers. *"They dare not proceed against us on the ground of treason — because it is not treason to ask men to vote the Socialist ticket. . . . Our readers will send the Appeal to the soldiers and sailor boys in spite of the Army and Navy League. These gold braids may shout treason until they are black in the face! On with the dance."*

The official organ — *Weekly Bulletin* — reports success: *"Reliable information is at hand that Socialist literature is more freely circulated than ever on the warships of Uncle Sam. On a number of ships copies of Kirkpatrick's book are going the rounds and being read with interest."*

Meanwhile, the exhortation went out to probable

recruits: "Don't enlist for Mexican campaign until you have read — *War, What For?*" It is needless to suggest that this book incites to treason.

In the story of an *Ex-soldier, Now Socialist* we give one of many incidents in proof of the demoralizing effects of this propaganda. We quote from "*An Army Patriot Gets Wise.*" (*Anti-Military Edition* the *World,* Socialist weekly.)

"I wish to write a few lines of personal experience.

"I soldiered in the artillery branch of the regular army. Have been under Generals Funston, Moore and MacArthur. Am now a militant Socialist and a member of the G. A. S. P., 'Grand Army of the Socialist Party.'

"Once on a time a fool notion led me to enlist in the artillery corps of the regular United States army.

"From history and experience I learned armies were weapons of working class intimidation at home and robbery and exploitation abroad.

"Before I enlisted I had 'Socialistic leanings' of the 'public-ownership' type. Before I was discharged I had Socialist convictions of the Marxian type.

"One night, on Grant avenue in San Francisco, I heard a soap-boxer discuss real Socialism. Though wearing my army uniform, I elbowed through the crowd, close to the feet of the speaker. His talk was a revelation to me. I asked questions concerning the economic view of the army.

"On my return to the Presidio military reservation, filled with enthusiasm (the real life, at last!) and carrying big bundles of Socialist propaganda literature and anti-military pamphlets, I started to convert the army.

"Several officers tried to have me court-martialed on a charge of treason. The plot failed only because I had

a friend (an artillery captain) who stood by me and helped defend me from the 'gentlemen by act of Congress.'

"I was a happy man when I received my discharge from the military tyranny. I am for absolute Socialism now, either through force or agitation.

"ARTHUR ROOS,
"Secretary Local Watsonville Socialist Party of California."

The same tactics are in force in Europe, though not in some instances so brazenly pursued. We have before us a copy of the *Coming Nation* (Girard, Kansas, June 17, 1911) telling of the secret processes by which the *Young Socialist Guards* spread propaganda amongst the Belgian soldiers. *La Caserne* (The Barracks) accuses the *Fatherland* with lying and advises Socialist reading as a corrective for the patriotism of the capitalist press.

"They tell us that the army is necessary to safeguard our country"—"Educate yourself"—it is "the capitalists for whom alone armies are necessaries. *Read much and ponder.*"

It was then generally believed that no European war of consequence could take place, on the assumption that loyalty to their command was too nearly extinct in the armies. Robert Hunter — an author of international fame — voiced this opinion freely in *"The Joke of Militarism."* It was thought certain that the armies of Germany, France, England and elsewhere were so thoroughly imbued with "class consciousness" that in case of war the soldiers would "Round about face" and shoot their officers and then their economic rulers.

The "Joke" went throughout the Socialist press. It reads in part as follows:

"There may be another great international war some time. I doubt it.

"The German emperor does not fear the English or the French, or any other nation one-thousandth part as much as he fears his own people.

"The French rulers are more afraid of the French people than they are of the English or German armies.

"The American government has nothing to fear from any other nation on earth. It knows perfectly well that if war breaks out, it will be because it has incited war by its own provocative action.

"All these gigantic armies gathered at the borders of the nations, looking fiercely across imaginary lines, are prepared for one order—'Roundabout face! March on your own kindred!'

"Since the days of the Commune the nations of the world have been preparing, not for international wars, but for civil wars." (Anti-Military Edition, the *World,* Oakland, Calif., Mar. 12, 1909.)

This pose was likewise taken in our own country. It was all a matter of "patriots getting wise." With a flourish of pride their press reported the haling into court of one of their national lecturers — Lena Morrow Lewis — for defaming the men in the khaki and the blue. As a rule "the scum of society join the army and navy":

"But there are exceptions to this; there are good men in the army, and these are getting their eyes open. If it ever comes to a crisis in this country they will probably follow

the example of German soldiers and refuse to shoot down the working class of their own or any other country."

The assumption of a *round-about-face* in case of war was, in fact, made in Germany and from there it overflowed to the rest of the Socialist world. August Bebel, speaking to his German constituency (1911), boasted:

"Our rulers think that the same enthusiasm will reveal itself in a future war as in 1870. (A voice: 'Not likely.') I should think so. They have made their calculation without the host, and the host are we! And we are growing mightier every day, like the ancient Christians. . . . I do not believe that we shall ever get a Socialist Cæsar, but that we are getting more and more Socialist soldiers is known to all the sparrows on the roof. The gentlemen above us may find this unpleasant, but this is so. We have whole regiments, whose brigades from the big towns — they are all Socialists. Inquire among the engineers among the artillery, go wherever intelligence is needed, and you will find — all Socialists."

It was, however, Bebel who had counted without his host. For unlike Christians, ancient or modern, Socialists make their calculations upon a false human nature. We shall grant that there is *such a thing as mutiny*. But the opposite characteristic in human nature is the normal one. In this case, the natural virtue of patriotism — that sets love and defense of country next below love and defense of God — was not reckoned with. Hence, while Socialist agitation does arouse the spirit of hatred and revolt to a pitch before unknown, as the Russian Bolshevist terror far outruns that of the terror

of the French Revolution, there is no danger that ever the sanity of men can be so submerged as to effect a *"general mutiny simultaneous with a general strike"* throughout the world. It is then to human nature as it is in truth, made in the image of God, but injured through the fall of man — that Europe was saved from complete suicide in the recent war. We may thank God alone for the return to right-reason by vast numbers of men who in Germany, Austria, France, Italy and England had been taught by Socialist propaganda to right-about-face and fire upon their officers rather than to shoot at the proletariat of the opposing armies. For the Marxian hope of a world dictatorship of the proletariat collapsed when the German Social Democrats rallied to the support of their government in 1914 — once again the point of the *revolution* was broken. *The International* staggered and fell.

But, it left in its wake horror beyond human imagination; Russia was beaten flat to the ground. The Socialist power to destroy should be a warning to those in our country who grind the face of the poor and by their wealth corrupt our free citizenry. For such destruction of hope spreads that despair that made in Russia a most fertile soil for the propaganda of Socialism to strike root and pass on into the logical deeds of Bolshevism.

It should be kept in mind by us all, that the scheme of the "dictatorship of the proletariat," hatched in Germany by Karl Marx, was worked out into its practical application by Daniel De Leon here in our own

America. Moreover, it was in New Work, after having been instructed by keen minds utterly void of Christian culture, that the Trotskys learned how to do the deed.

Soldiers Barred from Membership

It is the unwritten law of the Socialist movement that soldiers, especially those who volunteer, shall be refused membership in their organizations. This general persuasion has been tested upon many occasions, generally with the result that the unwritten law was enforced. In answer to the Socialist Labor Party local of San Antonio, Texas, regarding the admission of soldiers into their organization, the National Secretary — Paul Augustine, replied:

> "While there is no constitutional provision against it, still there is an unwritten law that denies soldiers and militiamen admission into the party. In countries where the workers are FORCED into military service, the status of such applicants takes on a different color, but here where service is purely voluntary it is different."

The State Constitution of the Socialist Party of New Jersey provides that "*no voluntary member of the State Militia shall be eligible for membership.*" The Socialist Party of Connecticut has a similar provision; with the addition "*that any party member now belonging to the militia must resign at the end of his term of service or be expelled from the Socialist party.*" The Socialist Party of the State of New York rejected the application for membership by a soldier (*Call,* Oct. 11, 1911).

Many other divisions of the national movement have taken like action. Dr. Charles E. H. Graeb was unanimously expelled from the Socialist Party of Colorado upon his refusal to resign from the National Guard. Charles Stevenson was unanimously ordered from his seat on the political party town committee of Clinton, Mass. So vigorously is this policy carried out that the entire local of the Socialist party of Waltham, Mass., was expelled, by the Massachusetts State Committee, for its refusal to recall one of its members — also a member of the militia — who had been elected to a city office. The National official organ — *The Worker,* New York, editorially endorsed the suspension in no uncertain words.

"When a local so flagrantly violates party discipline in so important a matter as that of the attitude of the party toward the militia," the action of the State Committee should be upheld by all loyal Socialists.

In discussing this event, the *New York Call* answers an inquirer:

"It is not proper, according to Socialist principles, for any workingman to join the army or navy. Both of these are the tools of the ruling class and used to advance their own interests. The working class has nothing for which to shed its blood. Profit is the only god which still demands life as a sacrifice."

From testimony to be found in the *New York Call* (Feb. 12, 1917, only two months before we entered the world war) it may be seen that love of country and vol-

untary enlistment in defense of American principles was regarded as an offense to the Socialist party by its members. Following the decisions of their National administration to " call out members joining the army " it was reported:

" In general meeting Socialist members of Manhattan decided yesterday to reaffirm the position taken by the national organization to expel all members voluntarily enlisting in the Army and Navy."

One week later, the Brooklyn division of Socialists announced their hostility to our country:

" In general meeting of the Socialists of Brooklyn it was definitely decided that all members of the local will be automatically expelled from the party if they join any military organization." (*Call,* Feb. 19, 1917.)

Even the exclusion, from their membership, of soldiers and sailors, did not satisfy the most numerous division of the Socialist Party of Boston. Their rejection of members went much further. To quote *New York Call,* 1917):

" The Boston Lettish Branch 2 at its regular meeting in February adopted unanimously the following resolution;

" Every member of this organization, of either sex, will be expelled if they join voluntarily the army, navy, militia or any other military organization, including the government's Red Cross, military hospitals or any private organizations which are supporting military operations."

This question addressed to the American people seems pertinent: Since no public comment appeared resent-

ing this repudiation by Boston Socialists of the duties of citizenship; with its assault upon humane action, shall we conclude that we are living in a fool's paradise — waiting for the Bolsheviki to overwhelm our civilization?

The case is worse yet, for the same hostility that is manifested by the Socialist movement to membership in the army and navy is also manifested in those trade unions that are dominated by Socialist psychology. Especially is this the case in the Hebrew trade unions; they are dyed-in-the-wool *Red.* It is a satisfaction to note that although at one time the Socialist members in the United Mine Workers' Union — 400,000 strong — succeeded in getting the upper hand in its management — and legislated against membership in the militia — this great union has since returned to the American standard of trades' unionism. Yet, it left behind all too many who still rejoice that its most famous member — John Mitchell — was compelled to withdraw from the National Civic Federation because, forsooth, that body advocated harmonious relationship between employers and employees.

Not so with the I. W. W.! no repentance for folly and disloyalty by those who with blasphemy and anarchy flaunt the motto — No God, No Master. Right reason was challenged at the first convention of The Industrial Workers of the World (Chicago, June 27, 1915) and nothing since has changed their defiance of law and order. Among the organizers of the I. W. W. appear the names of the most noted Socialists of that time —

Daniel De Leon, Eugene V. Debs, William D. Haywood, "Mother" Jones, A. M. Simons, Ernest Unterman, Frank Bohn, David C. Coates, and others of national importance. We quote from resolutions adopted:

"Whereas, The present form of capitalism is increasing organized violence to perpetuate the spirit of despotism; and

"Whereas, The result of this spirit will be the further degradation and oppression of the working class; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we condemn militarism in all its forms and functions, which are jeopardizing our constitutional rights in the struggle between capitalists and laborers; and be it further

"Resolved, That any person joining the militia or accepting position under sheriffs and police powers or as members of detective agencies or employers' hirelings in times of industrial disturbance, shall be forever denied the privilege of membership in this organization."

During the discussion a more daring breach of civil faith was proposed. It was argued that if every member of organized labor were also a member of a militia company, armed with the best weapons known, a *coup d'état* would result and "such outrages as occurred in Colorado recently would never occur again in our history."

Experience in Coup d'Etat That Failed

Delegate David C. Coates, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions — brought forth objections to this plan for getting control of superior weapons. Experi-

ence had shown that the plan proposed was not feasible: About "five years ago we deliberately planned to capture the militia of Colorado" —

"*We succeeded, I say, so far that just as soon as the next administration came into power they disbanded every one of our companies of militia; that is what they did. And they disbanded them for no other reason than that they were members of organized labor and unfit to do duty to the State of Colorado under such circumstances* (Applause). *That is going to be your experience if you try to capture the militia.*"

Further experience in attempting to subvert the armed force was made in St. Louis. The story is related in "The Socialist Party *Official Bulletin*" (No. 12). The plan was to turn the Sheriff's posse from its legitimate purpose — the keeping of the peace — to the aid of Socialist propaganda during a strike. The result was a complete demoralization of the Sheriff's force; with the dead men as the evidence of the seditious undertaking. Moreover, it was the Socialists themselves who told the vicious tale while boasting of the credit due to their clever comrade Hoehn. So it was that when next election time came that the leader in this untoward event — G. A. Hoehn — editor of *Labor* and of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* — was pictured in an illustrated circular — sent broadcast — as a deputy sheriff standing with a gun over the prostrate body of a strike victim.

The entire Socialist element of St. Louis came to "Comrade Hoehn's" defense. His was the virtue, not the crime, of the occasion. An official statement was

unanimously adopted at "the most largely attended meeting ever held by the Socialist Party of St. Louis," repelling the alleged libel and asserting that the demoralization of the sheriff's forces was "to the credit of Comrade Hoehn." Quotations from the official statement that was intended to refute the arguments made in the circular letter against their leader, will clearly show the perverse state of the Socialist mind.

"To all this misinformation we answer:

"1. That Hoehn was a voluntary member of the posse and courted the subpœna in pursuance of a deliberate plan to assist the strikers.

"2. That said plan was first submitted to members of the strikers' committee, who, fearful of the consequences of the radical proposition by Comrade Hoehn, could not be induced to recommend it favorably to their union.

"3. Hoehn, failing to secure an organized carrying out of his plan, did as an individual what he had sought to have 2,000 or more strikers do along with him.

"4. Now, what was the plan? Simply to get the 3,000 riot guns into the hands of undoubted friends and adopt such tactics as would have made for real 'law and order.' Unquestionably this would have been called 'treason and conspiracy' against the state, but this did not daunt Comrade Hoehn.

"5. Hoehn would rot in jail before he would do voluntary or involuntary service as a sheriff's deputy against the proletariat.

"6. Hoehn was — discharged after a somewhat exciting time in the barracks.

"7. To the credit of Comrade Hoehn, let it be known that the agitation carried on by him and a few union men during the short time of two days so demoralized the sheriff's

forces that all companies on the floor occupied by Hoehn's company were dissolved after wholesale dismissals. Had the strike committee been bold enough to adopt Hoehn's plan the history of the strike might not now include a massacre of defenseless workmen."

It is too true that neither conspiracy nor treason daunt those who officially declare that "The Social Revolution, not political office, is the end and aim of the Socialist Party." But, while the Emergency Convention by the Socialist party may, even in war time, be trusted to say what it means in the open it should be a marvel that our country is so tolerant as to permit treason and conspiracy to flourish year after year in the bright light of day.

In passing, it is our privilege to note that credit is due to the Street Railway Men's Union of St. Louis for their resistance to the appeal to take a part in this treacherous conduct, especially since the labor movement of their city was, and still is, dominated by Socialist psychology.

The Ballot Too Slow

Impatience ever was the tag of men lacking wisdom! It is contended that the process of controlling the State and by its power the command of the armed force by "the dropping of pieces of paper in a ballot box" is altogether too slow. It contents those Socialists who believe themselves to be the fate-elected agents to overthrow the capitalist state — gently, sweetly, slowly as the glacier transformed the surface of the earth — by

the gradual capture of every official position and so on one fine day set up that one-class society where the super-man shall dwell in perfect harmony with super-man. These are of the pink tea, the parlor variety, but for the *red-reds* their battle cry is " Not Evolution but Revolution."

Besides, the Marxians have seen very many of their at first madly in earnest comrades tamed down when their experience has brought them face to face with the actual realities — the responsibilities of parliamentary bodies. Surely, common sense is the last thing that Socialism thrives upon. So it is that Marxian impatience, grounded in unreason, and Marxian resentment at the returning sanity of members who are elected to political responsibility, leads to the formation of the I. W. W. and other labor bodies who logically put into practise their anarchistic principle of " direct action." Under the whip of Hot Haste an article appeared in the *International Socialist Review* (April, 1908, pp. 610–611) from which we quote the author — Maurice E. Eldridge:

" The tactics employed by the Socialist party at present aims at the capturing of the powers of government through political action,— and if this policy is to be adhered to, the capitalists are really in no immediate danger of losing control of the industrial and political situation. But suppose the Socialist party with its half a million votes should change its tactics and begin secretly to organize military companies. We have many party members who have had military training either in the regular army or militia of the country or of some European country, and it is certain

that a number of first rate strategists could be quickly developed. There is already a sufficient number of party members in many of the industrial centers of America, if they were properly organized and instructed, to swoop down upon the military garrisons that are situated in the outskirts of cities, surprise the sleepy sentinels on guard, pour into the barracks where the soldiers sleep and capture the gun racks. If properly planned and executed, the battle might be won without the giving of a single shot. Away from the industrial centers of the country there are not half a dozen regiments of soldiers and these would stand but a small chance against a half million determined rebels."

There were a few of these " determined rebels," who had sworn allegiance to the United States army, that determined to follow the orders of their intellectual superiors — the scribes of the Socialist press. The latest act of disloyalty ever gives the signal for bettering the instruction to " determined rebels," wherever they are found. So there is an endless round of propaganda, swirling down to the center of destruction, inciting disobedience, desertion, and rebellion, not stopping at murder where it will spread the poison of the revolution. John Kenneth Turner, George Allen England and other ideological scribblers of note flooded their press with the maltreatment of five Socialist soldiers who had been court-martialed and sent to prison at Fort Stevens. All this commotion was under the spur of loyalty to the *cause;* yet, in the meantime, subscriptions to their papers were gathered. The articles complain that " Comrade Coffman," one of five had only preached the " Socialist interpretation of war." " He preached anti-

patriotism and anti-militarism "— while in the army. Since Socialists have abrogated the Decalogue how innocent is this defense. But, the self-confessed guilty party is equally innocent in his own mind. We quote from an interview given by Private Waldo H. Coffman. (*Appeal to Reason,* April 19, 1913.)

"What's the good of being in the army unless it is to stir up trouble? No man that's a man can join the army and expect an honorable discharge."

Mr. Turner takes consolation from the event as marking off a notable step towards their goal:

"When Socialism becomes an issue at any army post, it may be properly said to mark an era in the advance of the movement in this country. . . . I believe that there is just now being presented to the United States its first notable instance of a Socialist struggle inside the very dead-line of the capitalistic citadel. I refer to the case of Waldo H. Coffman, who is being prosecuted at Fort Stevens, Ore., for the crime of thinking — and talking — Socialism."

This irresponsible attitude towards thinking and talking was acclaimed as the acme of wisdom by hundreds who think treason is loyalty, so perverse is their mental attitude. Fifty-one citizens of Sedan, Kansas, signed a letter of protest that was sent to Washington,— complaining that "soldiers are being persecuted for their open avowal of and propaganda work for Socialism, in the military post at Fort Stevens" (*N. Y. Call,* July 29, 1913). Never did the cockle, sowed over the wheat, grow so desperately fast:

"The gage of battle has been thrown down.

"Will you submit to this dastardly outrage?

"Is freedom of thought to be wiped out in this free land of ours?

"We have snatched up the gage of battle and stand forth for the conflict.

"We will reveal the cruel, barbaric militarism in a series of articles.

"Don't miss a word.

"Let all respond.

"Send in your bundle orders." (*Appeal to Reason,* April 19, 1913.)

The records of the court-martial and conviction showed that the five Socialist soldiers had reviled their officers in language too foul to print; they had referred to the death of Vice-President Sherman in a disrespectful and shocking manner; they declared that in case of war they would "sneak off"; they had assisted privates to desert; they had declared the flag of the United States to be an emblem of slavery; they talked of the dynamiting of the Los Angeles *Times'* Building and the resultant loss of life and property as proper and just.

These deservedly convicted men were the subject of issue after issue of the Socialist press. Their "class-conscious" deeds fired the dizzy brains of many men with a lurid hate of authority and set up a raving desire to abrogate law and order — forsooth, in the interest of human advancement. So laudable is desertion, in their morbid view, that *"The Deserter"* is put into verse by S. A. De Witt (*N. Y. Call,* Aug. 17, 1913) to make men "dare to break their pledge." These two

columns surely lead over the brink of despair. We quote the last two stanzas:

'Tis not enough that armored hulls are built,
With money coined from human flesh and soul,
And armies armed and clothed and housed and fed,
For which we pay in rent and tax and toll:
'Tis not enough that they will brazen lie,
And teach our youth to glory in their ships —
That armaments are bought to guard the flag
To which they swear allegiance with their lips:
To guard our flag and native land, they say:
Their flag and land — not ours — therein the Lie —
But we are dupes, and easily forgive —
Aye, even when they teach and falsify.

But God! to buy from any man his years,
And make him serve and bind him to his task,
When brain and heart and life in pain rebels —
And God is silent! — then tear off the mask —
And lo! there is no God — 'tis vain to ask!

There should be not the slightest doubt about the fact that treason has ever been the open policy of the Socialist movement in this country. The Socialist Party officially recommends as a "masterpiece of revolutionary literature" *War, What For?* — From this mine of "mental dynamite" we quote (Preface p. 7, Lafayette, O., 1910):

"The working class men *inside and outside the army are confused.*

"They do not understand.

"But they will understand.

"AND WHEN THEY DO UNDERSTAND, their class loyalty and class pride will astonish the world. They will stand erect in their vast class strength and defend — *Themselves.* They will cease to coax and tease; they will make demands — unitedly. They will desert the armory; they will spike every cannon on earth; they will scorn the commander; they will never club nor bayonet another striker; and in the legislatures of the world they will shear the fatted parasites from the political and industrial body of society."

Since no one will presume to question the world-standing of Karl Kautsky as an authority on Socialism it shall suffice to set out his academic manner of corrupting the armed forces of every country under the sun. To quote: *"Militarism can only be overthrown by rendering the military itself faithless to the rulers."*

We submit that upon the evidence we have presented, no man can deny that out of their own mouth Socialism stands self-convicted of the sustained determination to be disloyal to the State: That the data herein presented is sufficient to convict Socialists of propagating doctrines and defending acts that encourage disobedience to and defiance of rightful command: That sabotage, desertion and mutiny is counseled and applauded: That these are the gravest crimes that can be committed against the state. Is not this course a personal insult to loyal men — soldiers — marines and police — who stand ready when need calls and give up their lives that peace with liberty may be the lot of all? Is not this a case that every sober-minded man should make his own that all members of this nation may go about their affairs in safety and security? Should not every man

now make his choice as between human reason — love and justice — and that of murder, rape and chaos?

But to whom shall we go?

Ah! those who do not know may well be directed to the Socialists themselves. They know, and by their implacable hatred of the Pope they inform all the world where the leader in the world is that shall calm the bold winds and the raging sea of human passion.

Is it any wonder that Socialists hate the Catholic Church? She holds, ever has held and ever shall hold, that the denial of God's authority sets up the reign of might over right. When men forget God a despotic will holds the whip of tyranny over the many and fear, not justice, keeps the peace where men are slaves.

But Socialists would have the multitude — the great majority and the few — forget God. They would set up a one-class rule — the might of the many against the might of the few. Since God is denied *right* is denied. What then, in logic, should hinder the bare-handed might of the few, from fighting to the death of civilization itself? Nothing! Nothing save the Bride of Christ who holds even-handed justice between the classes and the masses.

By the Sacrament of Confirmation, Catholics are soldiers of Christ, they are anointed that they may have courage, as against the world, the flesh and the devil, to obey their Royal Captain. And, the whole world has heard His command. For the Will of Almighty God is that every man shall render unto God what belongs to God and to Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar. Therefore,

Catholics defend neither the despotism of the full-handed few nor the anarchy of the bare-handed many. Their part is loyally to serve and to defend their country in those things proper to the will of their country, for service and sacrifice to one's country falls within the full orbed duty of all mankind — to obey the First Commandment and the second that is like unto the First. This is the open secret by which the Church sends her sons forth to battle with the courage of a David: the faith of the Centurian of the Gospel: the inspiration of Blessed Joan of Arc. It is this spirit that shines out in splendor through that son of the Holy Church — Generalissimo Foch — to whom all the sin-sick world, to-day, does honor. True patriot! So simple in his piety as to kneel in the dust to receive the Benediction of the Most High God: So simple in his purpose that little children are his best soldiers in prayer: So modest in victory: —"*Monseigneur, do not thank me but Him to Whom victory alone belongs.*" All hail to those men who fight by the light of those principles that made the "unperturbable Foch" the ideal soldier!

VI

BOLSHEVISM IN SCHOOLS

IN no department of organized society is the propaganda of Socialism more active than in that of education. From university down to kindergarten their agents are tearing away the ground of right-reason, namely: God the Creator first, next the individuality of my immortal soul, then all things else, the three basal dimensions of thought. All the while they are setting up an ideology that passes as the current philosophical coin with all those who have lost the Catholic poise of mind and heart, "'tis pity, 'tis, 'tis true," but these are the multitude. So it is that a false ideology is supplanting those true ideals that in fancy create and in fact help to establish, a heaven on earth, for their roots are deep down in the soil of a God-given morality.

It was the founder of Socialism — Karl Marx — who pitched the key of its theory: *"The Reformation was the work of a monk; the Revolution will be the work of a philosopher."* Truly the "monk" had set up his own will as his own authority and too as the authority of all those who would bow down to his will. Powerful princes who had long wanted their own way as against God's will openly accepted the "monk's" will as their authority.

This union between the rebellious monk and the dissolute princes led to a long and bloody defense of their spiritual rights and their property rights by the peasants with the consequent loss of their economic freedom and the corruption and confusion of their faith. Quite logically, from such vicious premise, when Marx's "philosopher" arrived upon the scene, some three hundred years later, he found a rotten-ripe soil for extending and expounding the effect of the "Reformation" to that of "Revolution." Indeed, the philosopher has long since been busy in the colleges of our country, and we have reason to know that his task is rather near completion. In a word that task is "Blasting at the Rock of Ages"— a designation given to it by Harold Bolce (1910) in an able article in the *Cosmopolitan*.

Colleges Making Socialists

"Out of the curricula of American colleges a dynamic movement is upheaving ancient foundation and promising a way for revolutionary thought and life. Those who are not in close touch with the colleges of the country will be astonished to learn the creeds being fostered by the faculties of our great universities. *In hundreds of class rooms it is being taught daily that the decalogue is no more sacred than a syllabus; that the home as an institution is doomed; that there are no absolute evils; that immorality is simply an act in contravention of society's standards; that democracy is a failure and the Declaration of Independence only spectacular rhetoric; that the change from one religion to another is like getting a new hat; that moral precepts are passing shibboleths; that conceptions of right and wrong are as unstable as styles of dress; that wide stairways are open between social levels, but that to the climber*

children are incumbrances; that the sole effect of prolificacy is to fill tiny graves, and that there can be and are holier alliances without the marriage bond than within it. These are some of the revolutionary and sensational teachings submitted with academic warrant to the minds of hundreds of thousands of students in the United States. It is time that the public realized what is being taught to the youth of this country."

The nine years since the time when Mr. Bolce passed several weeks in attendance at the lectures in one after another of more than one hundred universities and colleges have gradually raised the wind to the threatening violence of the whirlwind. Yet, there is no serious attempt to provide students with the rational necessity for a *First Cause,* to say nothing of giving them the unanswerable proof of the existence of the Lord-God, however many theories to the contrary men may hatch up.

The taught have become teachers of irreligion and antipatriotism in such large numbers that the radical proletarian forces have trained leaders and to spare. Of this there is ample proof.

Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society

College men and women organized this society in New York (1905) with Jack London, president; J. G. Phelps Stokes and Upton Sinclair, vice-presidents; Harry W. Laidler, secretary. The form of the organization is made up of student and alumni chapters. The body declares: "for the purpose of promoting interest in Socialism among college men, graduate and under-

graduate, through the formation of study clubs in the colleges and universities, and the encouraging of all legitimate endeavors to awaken an interest in Socialism among the educated men and women of the country."

Up to the spring of 1916, the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society had organized chapters in seventy-one universities and colleges. Fourteen Alumni Chapters were then established in centers of population. We present the list of officers and chapters:

OFFICERS INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY

President,
FLORENCE KELLY, Cornell

First Vice-President,
EVANS CLARK, Amherst

Second Vice-President,
VIDA D. SCUDDER, Smith

Treasurer,
MARY R. SANFORD, Vassar

Secretary,
HARRY W. LAIDLER, Wesleyan

Executive Secretary,
ALICE K. BOEHME

Executive Committee
LOUIS B. BOUDIN, N. Y. U. Law
H. W. L. DANA, Harvard
ARTHUR GLEASON, Yale
JESSIE W. HUGHAN, Barnard
NICHOLAS KELLY, Harvard
FREDA KIRCHWEY, Barnard
DARWIN J. MESEROLE, N. Y. U. Law
WINTHROP D. LANE, Michigan
GEORGE NASMYTH, Cornell
JOHN SPARGO
HELEN PHELPS STOKES
CARO LLOYD STROBELL, Vassar
NORMAN M. THOMAS, Princeton
CHAS. ZUEBLIN, Northwestern

SECTIONAL COMMITTEE

New England	Far West
EMILY G. BALCH	M. LOUISE HUNT
VIDA D. SCUDDER	R. A. MAYNARD

Middle West

DR. G. LIPPMANN
IRWIN ST. JOHN TUCKER

Southern Atlantic

WM. F. COCHRAN
MARY RAOUL MILLIS

STUDENT COUNCIL

DEVERE ALLEN, Oberlin
CLARA ELIOT, Reed
MADELINE HUNT, Vassar
G. E. CUNNINGHAM, Beloit
HARRY L. JANEWAY, Rutgers
J. LIEBSTEIN, C. C. N. Y.
BROADUS MITCHELL, Johns Hopkins
ROBERT W. DUNN, Yale
AMMON A. HENNACY, Ohio State
HILMAR RAUSCHENBUSCH, Amherst
A. RICKLES, Washington

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITY CHAPTERS

1 Albion
2 Amherst
3 Bernard
4 Bates
5 Beloit
6 Berkeley Divinity
7 Brown
8 California
9 Carnegie Institute Technology
10 Chicago
11 Cincinnati
12 City College (N. Y.)
13 Clark
14 Colorado
15 Columbia
16 Cornell
17 Dartmouth
18 East Tennessee Normal
19 Emory and Henry
20 George Washington
21 Grinnell
22 Hamline
23 Harvard
24 Howard
25 Illinois
26 Indiana
27 Iowa
28 Iowa State
29 John Marshall Law
30 Johns Hopkins
31 Kansas Agricultural
32 La Crosse Normal
33 Los Angeles Osteopathic
34 Mass. Inst. Technology
35 Miama
36 Michigan
37 Middle Tenn. Normal
38 Minnesota
39 Nevada
40 New York
41 New York Dental

42 New York Law
43 North Carolina
44 North Dakota
45 Oberlin
46 Ohio State
47 Ohio Wesleyan
48 Pennsylvania
49 Pittsburgh
50 Princeton
51 Radcliffe
52 Randolph Mason
53 Richmond
54 Rutgers
55 Simmons
56 Simpson
57 South Carolina
58 Springfield
59 Syracuse
60 Temple
61 Trinity
62 Union Theological
63 Utah
64 Valparaiso
65 Vassar
66 Virginia
67 Washington (Wash.)
68 Washington-Jefferson
69 Washington and Lee
70 Wisconsin
71 Yale

ALUMNI CHAPTERS

1 Buffalo
2 Central California
3 Chicago
4 Cleveland
5 Detroit
6 Los Angeles
7 New York
8 Portland
9 Schenectady
10 South
11 St. Louis
12 Springfield
13 Washington
14 Wilkes-Barre

The I-C. S. S. publishes a magazine of general interest to its members and it has issued several books and a number of pamphlets. Its roster carries the names of leading socialist lecturers. It is recorded that in 1915–16 John Spargo, Rose Pastor Stokes and Harry Laidler had delivered addresses in one hundred and twenty colleges to 30,000 students with 12,000 other persons in attendance. They had lectured to 80 classes besides speaking to more than a score of College bodies.

Besides the three persons mentioned, the principal lecturers of the Society are Scott Nearing, J. G. Phelps Stokes, William English Walling, Victor Berger, Florence Kelly and Bouck White. So active is this college propaganda, that when John Spargo announced to the public his resignation from the Socialist Party (May 30, 1917) he was not left without a responsive field for his efforts. Mr. Spargo assured the public that "Through the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society and such other channels as are open to me, free from Socialist Party control, I shall continue to expound Socialist principles, as I have done for many years past." There is no doubt about the colleges of the country being a fruitful field for Socialist cultivation. However, Mr. Spargo has made himself a prime favorite with the near Socialists — who come ever nearer — as well.

In reflecting upon the growth of Socialist propaganda in the highest institutions of learning one should call to mind the secularization by the Carnegie Foundation of so many of what was once denominational seminaries for graduating Protestant ministers. Since it is but logical that when God is taken out of the college curriculum, Socialism is most easily put in.

Of course we do not assume that this was Mr. Andrew Carnegie's deliberate intention. Not at all, yet it is plain from the gentleman's own words that he has no serious objection to Socialism if only it will but delay its coming until the old Scotch laddie has been paid back in full limelight for the millions that he has put into persuading directors to regard their foundations as

scraps of paper — all in the interest of that self-same philosophy that Marx's "philosopher" is spreading abroad. Neither do we assume that should the millions "come back" that restitution would be made to the persons and to the state for the blow-hole-armor-plate-tariff-manipulated-cheap-labor-profits that built up those many million roots of evil. However, one should not expect overmuch from those who are taught by the soap-box philosopher especially if they were robbed of the ground of justice and the light of love by the "monk" who brought about the Reformation.

Certainly, patience is one of the cardinal virtues, but patience comes not from brute force, not from the action and reaction of matter in motion as Mr. Carnegie assumes. It comes together with the rational mind of men and it is perfected by the practise of the true religion.

"Socialists should reflect,"— says Mr. Carnegie, "*because it requires a change in human nature, a change quite as great as that involved in the evolution of the man-ape into the savage or the savage into civilized man.*" (Page 136 "Problems of To-day," N. Y. 1908.) Indeed "Socialists should reflect," since it is Mr. Carnegie's privilege to play the rôle of Marx's "philosopher" in these piping days, that the source of all things human — one may not add divine — is a "burning mass of matter" that comes from nowhere. That since it was after eons of time when the beast appeared, without cause, from which man finally evolved, even Socialists should be contented, for some time to come, with the

de-Christianizing of institutions of learning. At any rate, the Scotch iron master lays out a wide and shallow program for the activities of the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society.

One is perforce reminded of Mr. Carnegie's prototype Stephen Girard — the founder of the Godless Girard College — for the perversion, it were blasphemous to say education — of poor little white orphans. In arguing the bequest that was conditioned by forbidding the teaching of religion; by forbidding any ecclesiastic, missionary or minister to step foot within its gates, before the Supreme Court (Feb. 1844) Daniel Webster said the will gave evidence of "sheer ribald, low, vulgar, deism and infidelity."—"I deny that in the eye of equitable jurisprudence, this devise be a charity at all." "I maintain, that neither by juridical decisions nor by correct reasoning on general principles, can this devise or bequest to the City of Philadelphia be regarded as a charity." "This devise *is no charity at all.* It is no charity, because the plan of education proposed by Girard is derogatory to the Christian religion; tends to weaken men's reverence for that religion, and their conviction of its authority and importance, and therefore, in its general character, tends to mischievous and not to useful ends." "I have considered this proposition, and am ready to stand by it."

Evidently the "philosopher" has worked a swift change since by "bettering the instruction" we now have many Godless Colleges instead of but one. Yet since God is not mocked, every sober-minded man may

agree with the great Webster in his closing words before the Supreme Court:

"In my opinion, if Mr. Girard had given years to the study of a mode by which he could dispose of his vast fortune so that no good could arise to the general cause of charity — no good to the general cause of learning — no good to human society — and that which would be most productive of protracted struggles, troubles and difficulties in the popular councils of a great city, he could not so effectually have attained this result as he has by this device."

The soap-box Socialists are very angry with Mr. Carnegie, they charge him with the responsibility for the killing of his workmen during the Homestead strike, but Marxian "philosophers" know that financial inducement to de-Christianize colleges is all to their advantage. They know that denying God logically leads to the defiance of all legitimate authority and this is a long step on the way to the "Revolution." If only *ten men* would consider this whole proposition and stand to the issue! the Carnegies — Rockefellers and a host of other clever manipulators of men's minds and of our statutes could be brought to book and made to turn back into the public treasury those many millions — that should be restored to workmen and their families for their cry hath entered into the ear of the Lord-God of Saboath — instead of being used to corrupt our seats of learning and the popular mind, then the tide of Bolshevism might be kept low — far away from the shores of our country.

Surely we are at the parting of the ways. Genuine education leads to God, not away from Him. We know that in the Middle Ages the application of Christian principles builded a civilization that in the main showed forth right industrial relations between man and man; and we are confident that the application of the principles set forth by Pope Leo XIII, Pius X and the reigning Pontiff Benedict XV to this our time would go a long way towards reconciling a situation that has become well nigh intolerable.

Rand School

Dull is the ear that has not heard the mutterings of the on-coming storm; or may be it is that sort of delight in the intoxication of the senses that prompted the exclamation: After me the deluge! At all events following close upon the heels of the reports telling of the horrors of the Lenin-Trotsky reign of terror, came the placid announcement that the Russian Socialists had established a school to teach Bolshevism. The press of our country knowingly editorialized upon this assumed-to-be-new-venture as though its domestication here were utterly unknown. Not a reference was made to the flourishing schools teaching the self-same doctrines in our midst. Not a hint of having heard the calling of the thunder that broke into storm over in the despotic land of the Czar. To be sure, the Marxian prognostication had proved at fault since even *the Revolution* should have followed the law of economic materialism and so break out first in that country most highly developed

industrially — but what is a law to the lawless? However, the Rand School recently received due notice from the Federal Court. The American Socialist Society — the incorporated body under whose auspices the Rand School is conducted — was fined $3,000 (March 21, 1919) for unlawfully obstructing the recruiting and enlisting service of the government during the war by the publication and circulation of treasonable literature. This official rebuff is like to a drop of water in the full bucket, for the offense of the Rand School is ingrain. Its reprehensible teaching is constant, not merely an incidental lapse in moral conduct. This School of Social Science on the East Side of New York is of degrading origin. Its sire was Infidelity, its dam Rebellion, and its multiplying fund is all for the Revolution. Its financial foundation grew out of the "Socialist Marriage" of a one-time Congregationalist minister — George D. Herron — and the daughter of a rich woman who had financed a chair of "Applied Christianity" in a middle west college, from which Dr. Herron presided. At this time Mrs. and Miss Rand made visits to the home of the Herrons. At length Dr. Herron left his wife — the mother of his five children, who consented to a divorce, the financial consideration ($60,000) was disbursed by the mother of the "Socialist bride." Replying to the charge, of the college faculty, of conduct unbecoming to a minister, the Professor of *Applied Christianity* defended himself in terms identical with those used by the Bolsheviki of to-day,—"I do not believe the present marriage system is sacred or

good "—" men and women must be free from interference of legal and ecclesiastical force." " If it is a free land,— or a free religion, or a free family, or a wholly free society, we shall find it on the other side of socialism or along the socialistic way."

Evidently, this second mother-in-law of Dr. Herron had made progress in degeneracy since even her sort of " applied Christianity " no longer suited her pleasure. To Dr. Herron, Mrs. Rand bequeathed $200,000 for the purpose of establishing a school " to teach social science from the standpoint of international Socialism " — Christianity was thrown in the discard.

At the death of Mrs. Rand, Mrs. Herron No. Two added a contributary fund. The American Socialist Society (Rand School) was incorporated by George D. Herron, Morris Hillquit and Algernon Lee; these gentlemen are also its Directors. The school opened (1906) with some 250 students. This year (1919) a registration of 6,000 students is claimed. Also another 5,000 in its correspondence classes. It has a large corps of socialist and radical professors, many of them from universities and colleges in and about New York City — Columbia supplying a large quota. We give a list.

Prof. Franklin H. Giddings, Prof. D. S. Muzzey, Prof. Charles A. Beard, Columbia; Prof. Wm. Noyes; Prof. I. A. Hourwich; Prof. Vida D. Scudder, Wellesley; Dr. Emily Green Balch, Wellesley; Charlotte Perkins Stetson Gillman; William N. Leiserson; George R. Kirkpatrick; Algernon Lee; Robert W. Bruere; John Spargo; Morris Hillquit; Benjamin C. Gruenberg; Florence Kelly; Scott Near-

ing; Laura Gannet, Columbia; Benjamin B. Kendrick, Columbia; David P. Barenberg; Joseph Schlossberg; Judge Jacob Panken; Bertha M. Mailly; Helen L. Sumner; Prof. Lester Ward; Prof. Charles F. Zueblin; Louis B. Boudin; Lucien Sanial; James H. Maurer; Max Schonberg; S. E. Beardsley; Benjamin Glassberg; A. J. Fichandler; A. J. Shiplacoff; Prof. J. A. Dewey; James O'Neal; Dr. John B. Andrews; Prof. Williard Fisher; Julius H. Cohen, and Louis Lochner, formerly Mr. Ford's Secretary.

The Rand School cleverly dismisses, as an out-worn notion, the theological seminary. It announces that it is spreading abroad a new faith. A faith limited to this world, dealing only with the things of sense. Its seductions, in this regard, are not to be despised since together with its vicious reflections upon the doctrines of the Church, it discounts the motives of the priests. Meanwhile it uses Christian imagery to bring to the Socialist movement those having the spirit of self-sacrifice for the love of God which is in exact contradiction to the enlightened self-interest that is the best intention that can be mustered in the camp of the radicals. We quote:

"The Rand School is — not a theological seminary, but a sociological seminary. In it men and women prepare themselves to be the evangelists of a new faith, to point the wretched and unhappy to a World to Come, not down from Heaven, but up from and out of the Hell of Poverty; to show them Labor hanging on the cross now, but soon to be the Redeemer of the world; they are to go forth, not to fat pariahes and prosperous careers, but to hardship, maybe to martyrdom." (*N. Y. Call*, Jan. 25, 1919.)

Turning to the aims of the Rand School its key note is struck — Socialists are to be equipped for the struggle of "emancipation." Emancipation from what? Why, to be sure, from the Law and the Gospels. From the constitution natural to the human race — from the knowledge of Almighty God, from humanity, marriage, liberty, property. We dare say that our own forefathers most carefully worked out the natural law given by God into a program for the government of a nation, therefore it is clearly the intention of the Rand School to instruct its students how most readily to overthrow our institutions and to set up —"along the Socialist way"— a "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" such as that in Russia:

ITS AIMS

To teach the Social Sciences from the standpoint of Marxian Socialism.

To train workers for the Socialist and Labor movements, organizers, speakers, writers, investigators, etc.

To supply the Socialist movement with information to equip it in its struggle for emancipation.

To afford the worker an opportunity for cultural education.

This school gives an irreligious and unscientific twist to the sociological data gathered through its research department and this matter is sent out to hundreds of thousands of persons through the books and pamphlets it circulates; and through the agency of the many meetings held under its auspices. In a word the Rand School is the center for the American Bolshevist educa-

tional activities. Not a few of its post-graduates are the masters of the sometime lands of the Czar.

Teachers' Bureau

The views of Bolshevism has been making its way through the veins of our public school system for some ten years. Those public school teachers who belong to the organized party have banded themselves together in the "Socialist Teachers' Bureau" to promote their baneful cause. The purpose of the Socialist Teachers' Bureau was set out in its report to the National Convention of the Socialist Party (1912 — proceedings p. 207): "The purpose of the Bureau is to enable Socialist teachers to get in touch with Socialist members of School Boards. Also by having a complete list of Socialist teachers on file in the National Office — to circularize and keep in touch with all matters pertaining to their particular line of work. At the present time we have on hand applications for positions from 49 teachers and inquiries regarding the securing of Socialist teachers to fill 20 vacancies."

"The National Office does not guarantee positions, nor does it guarantee good faith upon the part of either applicant. It simply helps to bring the teacher and the position together, rendering service free of charge. It does this because of the ever growing demand of school directors for Socialist teachers for positions and of Socialist teachers for positions in which they can teach unhampered by the prejudice of capitalist-minded school boards."

To "safeguard" both teachers and organizations, all applicants for positions are cautioned that they must enclose proof of a "paid up membership" in the party. The report is signed by the names of well known women within the Socialist movement of the country:

Meta Berger (Chairman, Milwaukee School Board)
Winnie E. Branstretter
Grace D. Brewer
Ella Carr
Lena Morrow Lewis
May Wood-Simons
Luella Twining
Caroline A. Lowe.

The National office of the Socialist Party acts as the clearing house for the Socialist Teachers' Bureau. In the *Party Builder* (July 26, 1913) it seeks to spread its doctrine:

WANTED — Fifty positions with Socialist *school* boards for red card Socialist teachers. Apply National Socialist Teachers' Bureau, 111 N. Market street, Chicago.

The State organizations of the party are actively carrying out the program of the National Organization by placing their members in public school positions. The far west has been rather successful in this venture. The following announcement signed by the Secretary of the Socialist Party of Tacoma, Wash., appeared in several of their publications:

"School teachers who are Socialists are wanted in the

state of Washington. Fully 100 can be placed at salaries from $60 a month upward. The recent school elections in Washington resulted in surprising victories for the Socialists, who ascribe their unexpected success to the vindictive attacks that have been made upon Socialism during the past year or two by prominent clericals and open shop capitalists. The people are studying the question, and the Socialists made the frank announcement that if they won in the elections Socialism would be taught in the public schools." (*Milwaukee Leader,* May 28, 1913.)

The Socialist Party of the Lone Star State advertises in the cause of promoting its doctrine within the public school system:

WANTED — Correspondence with boards of trustees desiring Socialist teachers, and teachers wanting such schools. (The *Rebel,* Halletsville, Texas, July 10, 1915.)

The *Party Builder* (Chicago, May 23, 1913) records its success and announces its expectation of doubling its opportunity for teaching the young idea how to shoot with Socialist weapons:

TEACHERS' BUREAU — WOMAN'S DEPARTMENT

"The increased number of Socialists elected to school boards increases the possibility of placing Socialist teachers. Last year we were able to place about 25 first-class Socialist teachers in positions where they could train the minds of young people toward the ideals of Socialism, thus counteracting the capitalistic tendencies toward false patriotism, racial prejudice, individual competition and snobbishness.

"We are now preparing a list of teachers for the school

term of 1914–1915 and will no doubt be able to double last year's record."

In addressing the New Jersey Committee of the party on education, Dr. Maud Thompson spoke clearly the Socialist mind as to the expediency of using the public school system in their general scheme of propaganda, if it is to be captured. To quote:

"The Socialist philosophy implies a whole new system of education. It will be an education fitted to develop workers and thinkers, and not, as now, adapted to one class only. But at present Socialists can work for this new kind of education only through the established school system. It would be impossible, even if it were desirable, for Socialists to establish institutions to compete with the public schools." (The *N. Y. Call,* Aug. 25, 1911.)

One may be certain that "this new system of education" sets forth the perversion of modesty in the calm tones of a mind utterly corrupted. In the magazine section of the *New York Call* (March 9, 1919) Dr. Thompson covers a page with words on "Modesty" not fit to print. There is put into the mouth of a twenty-seven months' old baby questions unbecoming in a fourteen year old girl.

The text goes on to explain that the mother's "wonderful and beautiful piece of news" never had to be explained to this child who "a year or two later began to take an interest in the structure of its own body." How heavy must be the mill-stone that hangs about the necks of those mothers and those women doctors who corrupt the minds of innocent and helpless little ones?

High Schools

Since the Socialist party is not a political party but rather a complete "scheme of life" it has the unique distinction of being the first political organization to hold a national convention for the purpose of inoculating the public schools with its doctrines. The *Milwaukee Leader* (Sep. 3, 1913) reports the convention held in the city of Chicago where plans were laid for furthering the Socialist cause. Since the president of the Teachers Federation of Chicago, Mrs. Ida M. Furman — took a prominent part, one must conclude that Socialist propaganda has made, at least, sympathetic inroads amongst the teachers of American children.

In discussing the question "*How the Socialists would Revolutionize the Schools,*" the editor of the *World,* J. E. Snyder (Oakland, Calif. Feb. 14, 1919) has worked the issue down to the practical expulsion of God with *Labor* set up as the abstract idol for worship.

"Well, to begin with, we would have the class conscious workers in control of the school board, and that school board would have to know and acknowledge the class struggle, the materialistic conception of history and economic determinism.

"The sentences, paragraphs and compositions for use in the grammars, will all be carefully selected and will teach for labor's advancement instead of celebrating the dead morals and worse deeds of capitalism. The literature of the world is full of wonderful passages of revolutionary and constructive compositions. The orations of the social rebels will furnish many inspiring sentences.

"Reading will be the most carefully guided of the studies. It will be so taught, that children will read from, shall we say, the age of three? So interesting will the lessons be that no lesson will be anything but a delight. Every lesson will be judged as to truth and relation to Labor. The curiosity of childhood will be given absolute liberty to look into all the hidden mysteries of man and the universe. No institution will be so secret, sacred and mysterious, but that he shall go in and explore to his heart's content. No priest or preacher of doctrines of faith will meet him at the door of knowledge and put goblins in his brain, fear in his heart and hatred in his soul. The limitlessness of the inwardness and outwardness of the universe will be early discovered by him. Life, full orbed, will be sought for with the delight of a real freeman and Labor will be sought as the most glorious expression of life."

It should not be doubted by any one who would save our country from the thraldom of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" that this is just what the Socialist intention is with regard to the public schools. Neither should it be doubted that not a little of this *will* to subjugate the public schools to their purpose is already carried out. Of course it is a sound reflection that the safe place to educate children is the parochial school. *There* morals are not "dead," but known as the manifestations of the love and the law of God. *There* is the liberty to learn that the priest is the chosen one to bring the knowledge that Christ is the light, the life and the way to eternal happiness. *There* grammar, reading and composition, all go to show that education has for its purpose the drawing forth of embryonic tal-

ents into practises and products for the good of one's self and one's neighbor for the glory of God.

The Inter-High School Socialist League organized four or five years ago in the Rand School, N. Y., by George R. Kirkpatrick, H. Schoenberg, John Spargo and others, is already bearing a large crop of corrupt fruit. Its object as stated was "*to develop the educated proletarians*"—"*to promote an intelligent interest in Socialism, to stimulate friendship, to elevate a general, social intercourse and to carry on a systematic propaganda among high school students.*" Through the columns of the *N. Y. Tribune* (Feb. 18, 1919) Assistant Superintendent of the High Schools of New York, Dr. John L. Tildsley warns the public that the evil results of Socialist propaganda can be seen in the compositions of the pupils and in their sympathetic remarks relative to the Bolsheviki and the Marxian philosophy. Conversely the same evil influence may be frequently seen in their antagonistic attitude towards American institutions.

In its issue of March 10th, 1919, the *New York Call* prints several letters from high school boys exulting over the Bolshevist activities. They delight in hissing and applauding at the wrong time those gentlemen who at the lunch hour address them on Bolshevism:

"You should not feel insulted when it is charged that the Bolsheviki came from your section. You did not invite them to your midst, and should be glad they are gone."

"No, dear doctor, we are not insulted; we feel rather complimented. But we are sorry they are gone, for they

would aid us, if here, in our fight for democracy in the social, economic and educational systems of the United States."

"So," Dr. Simmons continued, "people who incline toward Bolshevism have not read the vicious ideas upon which the Bolshevik government is based. Their platform is the 'Communist manifesto,' by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, bearing the label, 'Made in Germany.' Let me read part of it to you: 'The communists openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries unite!'"

That was a bad selection for Reverend Simmons for a large section of the audience (by habit, I suppose), burst into applause at these words.

Other letters tell the same tale in other ways. It is asserted that there is not a class in school that has not a few "ardent supporters of Socialism." The boys take occasion during the "current topics" period to propagate their doctrine, since a little "talk once in a whille does much to convert many boys." They boast that "Practically every day a boy is brought before the disciplinarian for being a Bolshevist." The men in the Party are urged to give these "Socialist buds" plenty of culture that they may teach their fellow pupils the way of Marx and Engels.

Evidently the School Superintendent realizes the danger of this propaganda to the body politic. But Dr. Tillsdale's proposal of "a course of civics to fight the Reds" is far behind the adequate remedy. It is not

civics but rather morals that is needed. But since the worldly-wise have long since banished the Living Fountain of morals from the public schools what should in reason be expected but a lawless dispensation? Surely it is sound, common sense to believe that nothing less than the whirlwind shall follow the sowing of the wind. If indeed there were nothing but fear — since *Vengeance is Mine saith the Lord* — as a motive, that is sufficient to defend the presence of religion in the schools. But Catholics have a motive vastly higher — it is, however, no negation of the first — for the maintenance of their parochial schools. Namely, joy in the love of God and the delight to do Him honor. Under the white light of science and the supernatural light of love, Socialism is quickly seen to be what it is — the enemy of right and justice, the enemy of liberty and democracy.

Young Peoples Socialist League

The Y. P. S. L. is another wide open door through which Bolshevism enters the class room. Turning the initial letters of their title into Yiddish, they sound "Yipsel," which has become a name they love to conjure with the world over. These young persons, born of a race without a country, are determined to reduce the inhabitants of every nation under the sun to the same desolate fate.

Their organization is international and it is much more consequential in European countries than it is here. Karl Liebknecht was one of the founders of the

society, which had a steady growth in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, the Scandinavian countries, and Russia later fell into line. Their chief characteristic is that they are not chained to the past.

Without a country and without religion, these young Hebrews fling to the winged winds even the restraints of the traditions and customs round about them. They see only the present, not in the moral-historical light of the past, but only in the materialistic view of the present generation. Their intellectual restlessness is mistaken for a genuine desire to study. They agitate — they act. In Russia the "Yipsels" are said to form the most active groups of the Bolsheviki. In the Spartacan revolts in Germany, the Yipsels are credited with forming the backbone of resistance against the moderate Socialists.

The latest reports at hand for the United States (1918) gives 147 Leagues, with a membership of 4.951 young men and women. Their National Secretary — William F. Kruse — reports that the Yipsels distributed 350,000 pieces of literature during the year; in addition to the circulation of its official organ — a monthly. The Yipsels have the official endorsement of the party. At the St. Louis Emergency Convention (1917) its activities were highly recommended:

"It has been clearly shown that one of the most fertile and promising fields of Socialist propaganda lies among the youth of the working-class, since their minds are less hampered by prejudice and ignorance; and once brought into our movement, their longer potential period of service makes them of greater value to us than any others."

The Year Book of the Rand School (1916, p. 155) gives the international affiliations of the Yipsels:

"It is to be said to the credit of the young socialists of Europe that they have shown as fine an anti-militarist spirit as have any European Socialists in either of the warring or neutral countries."

The Yipsels on our side of the Atlantic were not to be outdone in self-disgrace. Their National Secretary lays down the counsel that an official "*should know what Socialism is, and how to practise its ethical basis in his own dealings with his comrades, and he must be a disciple of Liebknecht and Debs rather than Scheidemann and Spargo.*"

Since Mr. Kruse has just been sentenced for twenty years' imprisonment for his treasonable conduct while we were in war, he is now the hero per se of the Yipsels. No. All the others are out of jail, propagating Socialism with increased vigor. Plainly the moral that should adorn this tale is not the advocacy of vocational training under Federal control but rather the introduction of the knowledge of God as the right foundation of the intellectual training of the youth of our country. Then the ethical basis of Catholicity shall be known for what it is — the science of right thinking.

Boy Scouts

The Boy Scout investment of our country is a most commendable organization for making boys useful, healthful, obedient, chivalrous, patriotic and reverent.

Happily it lays down a religious foundation for their character building, since "its policy is that the religious organization or institution (Catholic, Protestant or Jewish) with which the Boy Scout is connected shall give definite attention to his religious life." In a booklet —"Boy Scout Training under Catholic Leadership," Rev. Augustine F. Hickey, Supervisor of the parochial system of schools in the Diocese of Boston, gives a lucid and inspiring view of the significance of the movement. We present these paragraphs of the matter, together with the *Scout Oath* and the *Scout Law* referred to in Fr. Hickey's text:

The Significance

The Boy Scouts of America represent a nationwide movement for the betterment of the American boy. Educational in its spirit and purpose, this movement aims to develop self-reliance, initiative, resourcefulness and the spirit of service in growing boys. Membership in the organization and active participation in the attractive scout program bring to the boy opportunity for clear thinking, a broadening of his interests, the formation of good habits and the inculcation of virtues essential to good character. The Scout Movement appreciates and understands the sentiments and interests which belong to the boy. These interests are met and satisfied by a program of activities so varied and so broad that the true scout is always moving forward, becoming keener in his capacity for observation and deduction and growing stronger as desirable habits are woven permanently into his character.

The Appeal

The genius of scouting lies in its appeal to the boy. Scouting makes a boy eager to learn. The Scout's recreation is

the Scout's education. Scouting has proven an excellent solution of the much discussed boy problem. The activities which every normal boy craves are utilized in scouting for the making of a sturdy and manly boyhood, the brightest promise of an honorable and loyal citizenship. Yet scouting is not play. Scouting is serious work. Scouting awakens a sense of personal responsibility and stirs up in heart and mind the spirit of earnest devotion to duty. The Scout promises on his honor to do his duty to God and to his country, to obey the scout law, to help other people at all times and to keep himself physically strong, mentally awake and morally straight. The scout is trustworthy, loyal, helpful, friendly, courteous, kind, obedient, cheerful, thrifty, brave, clean and reverent.

"Be Prepared," is the scout motto. For what? "For a good turn daily and for every emergency" is the answer. Parents, teachers, leaders of boys have begun to see the movement in its clear light. They are recognizing in scouting a distinct contribution to the happiness and welfare of the boy of to-day and to the community and civic prosperity of to-morrow.

THE SCOUT OATH	THE SCOUT LAW
On my honor I will do my best:	A Scout is trustworthy.
To do my duty to God and my country, and to obey the Scout Law;	A Scout is loyal.
To help other people at all times;	A Scout is helpful.
To keep myself physically strong, mentally awake, and morally straight.	A Scout is friendly.
	A Scout is courteous.
	A Scout is kind.
	A Scout is obedient.
	A Scout is cheerful.
	A Scout is thrifty.
	A Scout is brave.
	A Scout is clean.
	A Scout is reverent.

Perhaps no stronger contrast between loyalty to our country and disloyalty to our country could be shown than by placing the vices recommended to boys by the Bolsheviki in contrast to the virtues that Father Hickey commends to his boy scouts. Clarence Meily ("Puritanism," p. 20, Chicago, 1911) scorns any code of right conduct as "surely absurd"; while to follow such a code is nothing less than "monstrous."

"One of the latest and most thoroughly characteristic measures devised for the propagation of these virtues is the 'boy scout' movement; where, under pretense of getting the pale, anemic children of the city workers out into the woods and fields, the old anesthetics of loyalty, reverence, obedience, and the rest are duly administered. For the proletarian, each particular one in the long catalogue of the servile virtues — patience, humility, contentment, loyalty, reverence, obedience, respect for law, the hope of reward after death — is a most contemptible, demoralizing and destructive vice. Each one is the dastardly betrayal of every interest, whether of person or of class, which the worker can possess. Every instinct of self-preservation, of love of family, of class solidarity, demands the repudiation of this base, treacherous and ridiculous ethic. For the worker, not patience but a consuming impatience with wrong and injustice, not humility but defiance, not contentment but burning discontent, not loyalty to the employer or constituted authority, but loyalty only to class interest, not reverence but insolence, not obedience but rebellion, are the true virtues."

Let no man think that this is merely a personal opinion, since this outrageous concept of Christian virtues is the common view of the Bolsheviki everywhere? In

"*War, What For?*" a full page picture presents a beautiful, robust Boy Scout flat on his hands and knees licking the spurred boot of a military officer. In the background is a shrewdly smiling face, half priest and half gormand, the figure is marked with a dollar sign on his vest. The priest-capitalist is gloating over the servile training of the boy that prepares him for keeping the future "hired hands" subject to capitalist exploitation. A legend is spread down a scroll invisibly supported. It gives orders to Boy Scouts and is signed by Rev. O. B. Goode, Chaplain. At a glance instruction is given to despise those virtues necessary to the building of a manly character. But this is not enough to satisfy the author of this "anti-war classic." On page 233 he quotes for purposes of blasphemy and outrage from a report of a Boy Scout meeting:

"The Church was beautifully decorated with flags — General Campbell presided and presented messages of good will and good wishes from the President of the United States, from Colonel Fred Grant — and from many other influential men.

"How interestingly consistent — 'Good will and good wishes' *from the presidential chairman of the executive committee of the capitalist class in America: that is the National Government,*— 'good will, and good wishes' to the seducers of small boys to serve as fist and tusk for the ruling class.

"The 'Boy Scout' movement is the latest manifestation of this christened and kerosened cunning to seduce the innocent small boys for the blood-and-iron embrace of Mars and Mammon. Mothers, take notice. Be warned. *Defend yourselves.*"

The Socialist party knows its own,—"Mary O'Reilly"— a Chicago Socialist public school teacher — is the author of a leaflet written to discredit the Boy Scout Movement and to promote the sale of *War, What For?* Surely it is no marvel that hundreds of thousands of these leaflets have been scattered broadcast by the Socialist Party. But is it not a marvel that for thirty long years this organization — the purpose of which is to overthrow not the political party in power but to uproot the very foundations of the nation itself — should be permitted to hold the honorable status of a political party within our borders and to spread the doctrine of revolt against lawful authority up to the full capacity of its treasonable power.

Fortunately the time seems not far distant when those on each side of the issue will come to intellectual grips. Americanism versus Bolshevism is the question. At any rate the number and the present activity of the defenders of Americanism is greater than in the past. Meantime, Socialists are not less active. Of course it is not the mere fact of organizations of boys that is attacked but rather the Boy Scouts are attacked because the principles and practises of this organization make it a strong defense against the propaganda of red-revolution amongst school boys.

This matter was taken up at the National Convention of the Socialist party (Indianapolis May 12–18, 1912), upon the report of the Woman's Department of the organization. In Bridgeport, Conn., and in other places, an anti-Boy Scout organization was formed. The re-

port relative to the attempted description of the Boy Scouts in St. Louis is of especial moment since the Socialists there have a notable standing in revolutionary circles because of their success — noted in the chapter *Would Corrupt the Army and Navy* — in causing the sheriff's posse to disband under the leadership of the editor of *St. Louis Labor* — G. A. Hoehn. We quote from *Proceedings* S. P. *Convention* (1912, p. 205):

"St. Louis has an organization of boys which they have named the Universal Scouts of Freedom. They are organized by wards, as a part of the work of the ward branches (of the Socialist party). Through their efforts one corps of Boy Scouts was induced to disband. They also made their influence felt by supporting Union Labor in the stand it took against permitting the Boy Scouts to take part in the parade on the occasion of President Taft's visit to St. Louis."

Incidentally it seems advisable to note that Socialists have for many years been in control of organized labor in St. Louis. Consequently a mixture of blasphemy — treason and degeneracy is the psychology within which the "Universal Scouts of Freedom" have been trained for just such enterprises as that of insulting the President of our United States. Any copy of their official organ — *Labor* — will give ample proof that these poor boys are but carrying out the program made up for them by their Bolshevist elders?

Happily the Boy Scout Movement is flourishing. Its trops — 348,874 strong — needs no defense. There is nothing but satisfaction with its work and gratitude for its aid. Everybody knows what the boys did to win the

war; by selling bonds, and war saving stamps; by the distribution of literature; by gardening and food conservation activities; by their nation-wide census of black walnut timber for making gun stocks and aeroplanes; for their Red Cross work and many other services too numerous to mention. But after all the most precious gift to our country from the Boy Scouts is the positive assurance we have that manly boys are in the making of manly men, upon whom the nation can depend for loyalty, efficiency and courage. Boys who bow in reverence and adoration before God, who salute with love and with pride our Star-Spangled Banner are like Cornelia's jewels — a priceless inheritance.

Socialist Sunday Schools

In their official Year Book — 1916 — Socialists state very clearly their purpose in maintaining Sunday Schools. Namely, "to make their children realize the class struggle and their own part in that struggle." In other words the Socialist Sunday School has no relation whatsoever to the teaching that is connected by these three words used in order. There is no intention of educating children in the knowledge of God — neither as the First Cause nor as the Creator of all mankind. No thought of teaching the Moral Law that abates not one jot or tittle of justice, though mercy is dispensed as sweet as the cool of the woods at dawn. No idea of giving instruction above a crass self-interest in things material and sensible. The "Socialist Sunday School" is to supplement the work of the public school since

the instruction there tends to "prejudice the children" in favor of "the competitive idea as applied to industry and all other walks of life." As the day of the week for teaching the class struggle to the children is Sunday it necessarily carries a suggestion of religion even to the most atheistic of minds. Then, too, there are those who still have at least a sentimental longing for an outward expression of the worship of God. This interior urge to bespeak the relation of the immortal soul to its Creator leads frequently to very ridiculous ceremonies that are pathetic indeed.

The Arbeiter Ring (Workmen's Circle) a Jewish fraternal, beneficial propaganda society, having some 600 branches with over 71,000 members, mostly in and around New York City, has been foremost in organizing Socialist Sunday Schools. These schools are established in many cities of our country and they are now being chartered by the Yipsels.

The Rand School has a special course for training teachers for these schools. In an article by Nicholas Kline — author, "A Primer of Socialism for Children" — published in the *Little Socialist Magazine* (Lawrence, Mass., Vol. 1, No. 1) the information is given that Cincinnati has the largest Socialist Sunday School to date. It is known as the *Arm and Torch League.*

"This school does not aim to teach theology or religion. It confines its work toward bringing a new aspect into the ideas of childhood giving the child a new hope in life.

"Children are taught to respect everybody, but to bow down to none. They learn to sing, recite and play. They also learn a great deal about what Socialism means, and why we must have a Socialist Republic to be real happy. The fundaments of politics are taught, and the boys and girls are encouraged not to play with swords, toy guns, etc."

Quite in keeping with the Materialist Conception of History there is not the slightest hint that — God, the maker and ruler of the world, is in His Holy Temple. But there is a broad hint that the teaching of patriotism is excluded, for the symbols of the art of defense — toy guns and swords — are not admitted to their sympathy. The "great deal" the children learn about Socialism tells them that the *Arm and Torch* signifies the Revolution that shall sweep among "Capitalism," but since *capitalism* means to them the principles and the institutions of our country, these little ones are taught loyalty to rebellion and treason to their country. A system of merits is used that places the red-star-of-rebellion above all other marks:

"It may interest our readers to know that when a child attends three Sundays in succession, his name is placed on the 'Honor Roll,' and a silver star is affixed next to his name, after six Sundays he gets a gold star; and after twelve Sundays of regular unbroken attendance a red star; a large number have the Red star. Every pupil having a red star, the high mark, is given a copy of the Child's Primer of Socialism.

Lesson XXIV very well illustrates how class-hatred is taught — the method by which the "child's vision is

widened;" that innocent boys and girls may take in the "class struggle" and their part in that struggle:

"Here is a man with a gun; he is in the troop. You see he has a nice suit on. Does he work? No, the man with the gun does no work. His work is to shoot men who do work.

"Is it nice to shoot men? Would you like to shoot a man?

"This man eats, drinks, wears clothes, but he does no work. Do you think that this is nice? Yes, this is nice for the Fat Man, but bad for the Thin so he owns the man with the gun. When the Thin man will have the law on his side, there will be no more men with guns.

"Who makes the gun? The man who works.

"Who makes the nice suit? The man who works.

"Who gets shot with the gun? The man who works.

"Who gets the bad clothes? The man who works.

"Is this right? No, this is wrong!

"THE MAN WHO WORKS SHOULD HAVE GOOD CLOTHES, AND ALL THAT IS GOOD.

"THE MAN WITH THE GUN MUST GO TO WORK, TOO.

"WAR MUST COME TO AN END. WAR IS BAD. PEACE IS GOOD."

The Little Socialist (July, 1909) does not find it difficult to reduce the principle of rebellion to the understanding of children:

"We should not have any rulers. We should not allow any one to govern us. So long as we fear any one, so long that one will be a bully and a tyrant."

This general order for disobedience to authority — parental, civic, moral — is followed up in Oct., 1909, by

more specific instructions. The children should follow the example of the Quakers

"who would not swear or support the government . . . for the flag does not stand for justice and freedom for all . . ."

Editorially, in the same issue, the children are instructed to despise and to insult not only the flag, but the President of the United States. Also to set up a juvenile court to condemn diplomatic acts; and to speak impudently to their teacher:

"Taft grasped the Czar of Russia's hand. We hope none of you shook hands with Taft. Tell your teacher you despise Taft for being friendly to a bloody tyrant."

Certainly a prolific crop of degenerate citizens should be expected. Especially when atheism, treason and insolence are followed up by the false history that teaches:

"Washington was a contemptible and unscrupulous liar." (*The Little Socialist,* Feb. 10, 1910.)

A rather original way of bringing children under the psychology of the hatred of patriotism is that of using as a border on their banners this acrostic:

Powder
Asininity
Trouble
R
I
O
T
Idiocy
Suffering
Murder

No, this defamation of our country is no new thing, it has proceeded, here at home for forty years without let or hindrance, otherwise how should it be that Bolshevism is to-day a menace throughout the whole world. The *Seattle Socialist* (April 10, 1904) reports with much malicious satisfaction, an incident that should have attracted the attention of those who were responsible for the maintenance of law and order at the time. The Children's Club was being entertained by the *Woman's Socialist Union* of Omaha. On the walls hung a picture of our then President Roosevelt. Pointing to the portrait a ten year old girl cried out "There's the man who wouldn't receive Mother Jones." Immediately the place was in an uproar. "Take it down," the youngsters shouted: "We don't want that bad man here." The portrait was taken down in disgrace and one of "Mother Jones" hung in its place. "It was an inspiring moment; the audience joined the children in long continued applause." It was explained that:

> "The women teach the children the principles of Socialist economy, and of course no child who has learned anything of the emancipating mission of the Socialist party would want the picture of Roosevelt to occupy a place of honor at an entertainment given by children of the working class. Every child had been taught, and was able to explain, that it requires human labor power to produce wealth, and that Roosevelt upholds the present capitalist system whereby his class — the Capitalist class — lives by exploiting the working class."

This incident was exploited by their press. Victor Berger's paper rejoiced: "The incident speaks vol-

umes for the manner in which these children have been taught their truths of Socialism."

Not only is perverted economics taught, but also historic incitement to support their false contentions in Joyne's Socialist Catechism for children:

Question: "How are forms of government changed, so as to re-adjust them to the economical changes in the forms of production which have been silently evolving in the body of society?

Answer: By means of a revolution.

Question: Give an instance of this?

Answer: The French Revolution of 1789."

Perhaps no better view of this rank hot-house variety of psychology that is perverting the minds and morals of many thousands in the Socialist Sunday Schools than to quote from a long list of questions made up by Dr. Paul Luttinger for working class children, ages from five to fifteen, "all Caucasians of Jewish and German descent."

"Should children obey their parents?"

"What is better a boy or a girl?"

"Since when do workingmen exist?"

"Why do people get married?"

"Who is greater Mayor Gaynor or Tolstoy?"

"Do fairies and magicians really exist?"

"What kind of a school is this?"

"Are Dumas novels good to read?"

"Who was Jean Valjean; why are all the girls crazy for him?"

"Supposing the air would become water, could we live in it?"

"Is it true that we were monkeys?"
"Is God sitting on the clouds?"

This Socialist Doctor assumes that "discipline is not necessary." The "free school" where children are permitted to teach themselves — to do their own thinking —" is the antidote of those institutions that follow in the footsteps of Ignatz de Loyola." The *free school* is "built on the impregnable foundation of the child's individuality." Whatever *individuality* should mean, since "God is a myth," is certainly outside the purview of common-sense. But the means employed of freeing the child from the authority and respect for his parents is clearly adapted to establish self-conceit and arrogance in the mind of the child. Said this adept in spoiling children:

"I never fail to ask, rain or shine, year in, year out. It runs something like this: 'Now, children, did anything happen this week which puzzled you? I do not mean any problems in arithmetic, but something to which your teacher answered that you were too young to understand it, or to which your papa or mamma answered: "Don't bother me!" If you have such a question, don't be afraid to ask it. We'll discuss it together.' It is rare to receive no response at all. There are always, at least, three or four inquiries, and while they are not all very interesting, there are many that call forth very lively discussions."

To comprehend the debasing character of these "lively discussions" one must hold in mind that the doctrine taught rests upon the premise that "religion is a fantastic degradation of human nature" (Marx).

Consequently it follows that "Socialism must conquer the stupidity of the masses in so far as this stupidity reveals itself in religious observances" (Liebknecht). Bebel puts the matter in a word "we wish — in religion, atheism." Resting back with blind confidence upon their crass ignorance as to the domain of material science and as to the genuine findings of science these men and women who tear with tooth and claw the divine image in the souls of these little ones blandly assert that since modern science has clearly proved that there is nothing left for Deity to do, there is clearly no reason to believe in God and surely no reason to fear, to love or to worship God.

A dozen years ago there was exhibited in a Socialist weekly — *The Worker* (July 20, 1907) six essays from children all under the age of thirteen years. The subjects treated were *Killing* and *Stealing, The Social Organism — Fatalism — Race Consciousness, The Class Struggle;* while one boy and one girl wrote upon *What Socialists Want.* From all these prodigies one conclusion must be drawn — there is beyond and above the Social organism — *Nothing.* Should there be any wonder that the "East-side" has supplied so many agents to carry out the Lenin-Trotsky régime in Russia? Especially when one reflects that long before these monstrous little essays appeared here, the red-internationalists abroad were educating, or rather perverting the minds and hearts of 59,225 children listed in their Socialist Sunday Schools?

These disorderly minds that have in charge the chil-

dren of the Socialist Sunday Schools employ the medium of song to carry forth their evil influence. Some time since a foremost superintendent of Socialist Sunday Schools — Kendrik P. Shedd, Rochester, N. Y., reported a visit to his city by George R. Kirkpatrick. After his address that actually *sizzled* —" George has hot stuff to hand out in his talks "— the Socialist Sunday School children sang in honor of the author of that dastardly book —" War, What For? " We give the first and the last verses:

> In this here song we sing of war, war, war, war,
> We know too well what it is for, for, for, for.
> In war the workingmen they kill, kill, kill, kill,
> So that the rich their coffers fill, fill, fill, fill.
> I never would a soldier be, be, be, be,
> Unless it were to make men free, free, free, free!
> If they will call me traitor if I won't be shot,
> I'd rather be a traitor than a patriot.

Mr. Shedd wishes that " George's broad smile " could be sent along with the words, especially during the singing of the last verse as

> " that is the one that always wins the greatest applause of all, and we Young People ought to know, for we have sung it to many audiences during the past three years. Read it over again and think. It has a peculiar meaning." (*N. Y. Call,* May 13, 1913.)

From the excerpts given of the bad art employed in demoralizing the native common-sense of these children, one may readily imagine that the debates arranged for

them are absurd; their dramas vicious in tone and that their parodies upon our national anthems should be reprehensible under the law. Yet, not content at treating with contempt and treason things that loyal men hold dear, these Socialist Sunday Schools lay violent hands on things holy. The *Daily Express* of Coventry, England (Feb. 4, 1911) reports the "baptism" of a four months old baby — Gladys Rose Wood — in "the cause of the red-revolution." The ceremony took place in Justice Hall — the meeting place of the British Socialist Party. First came a "hymn" to make rich men tremble:

"Then Mr. Julian Tayler arose, and signed to a little girl in the audience — Ethel Bates. Ethel, who could not have been more than seven, went on the platform, above which hung revolutionary messages. She took the baby in her arms, and, kneeling on one knee, recited some lines to the child. Next Tayler took the child in his arms, and, after stating that there would not be any ritual about the ceremony, welcomed the child into the Socialist movement, and pinned a red token — the symbol of the social revolution — on her breast.

"'I name the child Gladys Rose Wood,' said Tayler, 'and I am glad to welcome it into the ranks of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.'

"Tayler proceeded to compare the ceremony with a Church baptism, and went on to say: —'We want our children to grow up into free-thinking men and women, untrammeled by priests or the Church.'"

Surely this was a logical preparation for thrusting into the hands of children a banner bearing the motto, "There is no God," to be carried through the streets

for the purpose of gathering recruits for the camp of the Bolsheviki. But the question arises, has civil society divorced itself from the knowledge that God is the author of nations? Are the men in the seats of the mighty prepared to suffer the deluge? It is certain that baptism by water and the Holy Ghost inducts the child into the Living Organism of the Catholic Church, but it is also as certain that it makes of him a loyal giver to Cæsar of those things that belong to Cæsar. While this blasphemous dedication of the child to the " social revolution " makes at once of the little one an enemy of God and a traitor to her country. Blessed Jesus! save these little ones from being despoiled, by their own parents, of their right to liberty and happiness here and of heaven hereafter?

Because the Ten Commandments — the natural law graven in the heart of every man — stand as a granite wall between the Socialists and their goal, their peevish minds are ever provoked to rid themselves of these mandates from the hand of Almighty God.

Ridicule may indeed laugh out of court what is unsound. More than this, it can, as the Socialist archpriest of ridicule — George Bernard Shaw — well knows, silence in the timid the defense of the good and the true. So it is with a facetious audacity, so bold in its wickedness as almost to pass the belief of self-respecting men that Socialists set forth a red-decalogue all on their own materialist foundation. Of course, with the proviso that human life is an evolutionary product from the lowest form of life and has no better

source than fire mist and the nebula theory that is so delightfully rotary in its round and ever larger round upward and onward forever — from nowhere to nowhere. Forsooth! Socialism's very own ten commandments "express the higher theology of the new day." Besides it is ever so much nicer and more holy than any revelation from God that Moses could have had wit enough to make during the infancy of the race. One of these unspeakable red-decalogues had its origin in the United Kingdom for use in their hundreds of Socialist Sunday Schools. In our own country the Socialist Sunday School is conducted with a dash. To "monstrous difficulties and horrible opposition" they answer "Ish Ka Bibble!"

"But," says another, "you are atheistic; you do not teach the Bible!" No, brother, except as a piece of literature which has played its important rôle in the world. In our school we don't scare little children with big fish stories, nor do we make them rave in their childish sleep from ill-considered talk of hell fire and damnation!

"But you don't teach Jesus!" Yes, just as we would teach Socrates or Darwin or Susan B. Anthony or Debs, or any other mortal who has had a philosophy of living and has led a commendable life.

Besides they have some "Don'ts" to counteract the effect of those Christian

"Sunday schools that deal in dope and chloroform, let us have Sunday schools that teach children about working class emancipation and inspire them with the spirit of intelligent rebellion and international brotherhood and solidarity."

Modern Schools

Some ten years ago New York City became the center of a national movement to establish the *Modern School — Ferrer Schools* as they are popularly termed. These schools are now established in several places throughout the country. The parent school was founded by Leonard D. Abbott, William Thurston Brown, Hutchings Hapgood, Charles Edward Russell, Jack London, Upton Sinclair, Emma Goldman, Rose Pastor Stokes, Alexander Berkman, J. Phelps Stokes, William Durant and other Socialist-anarchist-radicals of national prominence. Since the Modern Schools were established to perpetuate the work and to honor the memory of Francisco Ferrer, who was executed in Barcelona, Spain, it is appropriate that we set down something of this man whose taking off put the radicals of all the world in an uproar.

Francisco Ferrer

In the year 1909 trouble arose on the frontier of the Spanish possessions in Africa with the Moorish Mountaineers. To defend Spanish interests, reserves were called to the colors in Barcelona. This official act was the signal for Socialist agitators to stir up the populace against permitting the government to send troops to the battle front. Under the leadership of Senor Maura, the ministry insisted that the interests of Spain be protected and troops were sent to Melilla. Agitation, in revolt, had by now proceeded so far that the demand for "mass action" was answered by strikes. Disorder

followed upon disorder. During the first night telegraph and telephone lines were cut, gas and electric lighting plants destroyed and cars were overturned. The fray was bloody, policemen were shot, firemen and civilians stoned and wounded. The next day, July 27, 1909, martial law was declared, thus turning all the powers of the government in Barcelona over to military officials. In conspicuous places throughout the city were posted proclamations containing the military code, adopted by a liberal Parliament in 1890.

We cite two sections of the code:

Article 3. Jurisdiction of offenses affecting public order in any political or social sense comes under my authority; and the authors of them can be tried by summary court-martial.

Article 4. Persons publishing notices or directions in any form whatsoever tending to disobedience of military orders will be considered as guilty of sedition; as well as those who make attempts against freedom of labor, or cause impediment or destruction of railroads, street car lines, telegraph or telephone lines, or any other conductor of electricity, or water mains or gas pipes.

Whereupon, faced with the drastic measures necessary to restore order bedlam broke loose, for the Socialists of Barcelona had the desperate courage to put the Hillquitian war cry into action — they actually "mounted the barricades and fought like tigers." As it was not supposed that churches, schools and convents would be attacked, the banks, postoffice and other public buildings were well guarded to invite attack. Evidently these authorities had yet to learn that it is a Marxian

dogma that the church is but a camouflaged police force for capitalism. As a matter of fact churches, schools, day-nurseries, kindergartens and other charitable institutions of defenseless women were assaulted, burned and otherwise destroyed. Thus began "bloody week," the excesses of which have, perhaps, since been equaled by the Bolsheviki in Russia. The outrages put the pen to blush. We quote from the late Andrew J. Shipman, Esq., New York City, an authority of the highest integrity on the Barcelona rebellion. Mr. Shipman was in Spain during this time and he remained throughout the trial of the ring-leader:

"It is sickening to tell of the savagery of the mob. Even the dead nuns were dragged from their coffins, and paraded with revolting and obscene orgies, and then thrown into the gutters. Clerical teachers in the schools were stripped, tortured, and shot. Even little children were not spared. Churches that had stood as monuments from the days of the Crusades were destroyed; while everything valuable was plundered from them and from schools and religious houses. They even stole the clothes and petty jewelry of the girls in the boarding-schools."

Francisco Ferrer was arrested as the "author and chief of the rebellion"— as the man who "instigated and directed the uprising." During the trial Ferrer was proved to have been in active collusion with the rioters for the first three days, and then to have disappeared from the city. When captured he was away from his usual place of abode and minus his wonted full beard. Being questioned, Ferrer claimed to be

making a walking tour through Cataluna, on his way home from the Esperanto Congress to which he was a delegate.

Ferrer's picture is absent from the group of delegates to the Congress that was photographed at Tibidabo; and when examined as to his knowledge of Esperanto, proved to be ignorant of the language.

Seventy witnesses, Republicans, Liberals, Anarchists and Labor leaders gave evidence in conclusive proof of the complicity of Ferrer in the riotous demonstrations. An able lawyer defended Ferrer but not one witness was put on the stand to refute the charges brought against him. The trial was held in open court and lasted twenty-eight days; press representatives from many countries being in attendance. Ferrer was found guilty of rebellion and treason. He was sentenced to be shot in compliance with Article 238 of Spanish law — the sentence being confirmed by the Captain-General and approved by the Ministry.

Upon the execution of Ferrer the Socialist-Anarchist-Atheist-Radical leaders throughout the world sounded their toxin calling upon the mob to vent its ire, not upon those who uphold unjust practises and work iniquity in industry, commerce and finance, but more especially upon the very prop and pillar of civil society — the Christian religion. They know very well, to de-Catholicize Europe is to de-Christianize the world; to de-Christianize the world is to open the flood gates of disorder — and disorder is Socialism's opportunity.

Rome was naturally, or rather unnaturally, the point

of attack! Troops were called out to protect the Spanish Embassy, the Quirinal and the Vatican; Pius X, the priests, the sisters and all things Catholic were reviled while the mob paraded the streets, shouting, "Down with re-action!" "Down with the Jesuits!" "Down with Merry del Val!" "Long live Ferrer!" In Paris rioting followed the Socialist-Anarchist meetings; there were 1,000 persons crying "Vive Ferrer!" "Abas la Calcotte!" and singing "L'Internationale." In Trieste (Austria-Hungary) after a meeting addressed by the Socialist Deputies thousands of these protestants made their way through the streets creating such a tumult that "all the theaters and cafés were compelled to close." The demonstration in Brussels lasted one whole week; processions marched through the streets with draped red flags shouting "Down with Alfonso!" "Vengeance for Ferrer!" Their efforts to reach the Spanish Embassy were repulsed by the soldiers. An exciting scene was created by the Socialists in the Municipal Council at Boulogne-sur-Seine (France) by an unsuccessful attempt to change the name of a public square to "Place Ferrer." In Brussels, sixty Belgian Free-thought Societies, made up of Socialists and Anarchists, unveiled a marble slab in Ferrer's honor in the Grand Palace. Later a nude male figure lifting high a torch, "the symbol of the triumph of light over darkness," was dedicated to Ferrer's honor at Place Sainte Catherine, Brussels. On this eventful occasion messages were read from the radicals of many nations in praise of "the

hero" who had braved the power of medieval darkness. The Barcelona City Council protested against the erection of this statue, declaring it to be an insult to Spain.

Through the recommendation of the National Office of the Socialiast party, protest meetings were held throughout our own country. The *New York Call* (Vol. 2, No. 261) editorially asked for — *"one or two million signatures — to a petition demanding the expulsion of the Spanish Ambassador and the severance of diplomatic relations with Spain, as a protest against the murder of Ferrer."*

The radicals of New York filled Carnegie Hall to the doors to "Show Passionate Indignation" and to hear Charles Edward Russell, Joshua Wanhope, Henry Frank, Edward F. Cassidy, Leonora O'Reilly and others "denounce in the strongest terms the Catholic Church" for its part in the murder of Ferrer. Mr. Russell climaxed the impassioned speech on this occasion, attacking the Catholic Church and advocating revolt:

"You say that I am preaching a revolutionary doctrine. Yes, it is a revolutionary doctrine and I preach it. What doctrine but revolution should a man preach in the face of a monstrous tyranny?" (*N. Y. Call,* Oct. 20, 1909.)

A letter from Rabbi Stephen S. Wise was read expressing regret at being unable to be present at the Carnegie Hall gathering since *"I am entirely in sympathy with the meeting."* Dr. Wise's letter concludes:

"I bespeak the sympathy of the meeting to-night, not only for the family of Professor Ferrer, but for the heroes in Russia and other lands who are seeking to make their countries free. And may the martyrdom of Ferrer move us to safeguard anew the precious boon of freedom, which is the very life of our American democracy."

We shall give the Rabbi the benefit of the assumption that his sympathy "for the family of Professor Ferrer" is meant for the family that he deserted, not for that of his first "free union" nor for the family of his second mistress — Soledad Villafranca.

We give an excerpt from the *New York Call's* Oct. 24, 1909 — very sympathetic report of the parade in honor of Ferrer by some Italian and other radical societies.

"Up Fifth Avenue past the palaces of the rich and the hated spires of that church the hands of whose priests are red with the blood of Francisco Ferrer. Their red banners draped in black were lowered in contempt as they passed St. Patrick's Cathedral, and then burst from hundred of throats passionate cries in many tongues of 'Down with the Church,' 'Down with the Jesuits,' 'Abbasso St. Patrick's,' 'Eviva Ferrer,' 'Long live the Revolution.'"

In Boston, Prof. Charles Zueblin, Edwin D. Mead and other of the elegant New England radicals joined with the Socialist party in proclaiming that a great light in the world had been put out by the lingering powers of darkness. In Chicago Arthur Morrow Lewis and the National Secretary of the Socialist Party led

the anti-Catholic orations. In Milwaukee, Victor Berger was heard; while in San Francisco Ferrer was given a standing among the red-flag martyrs of the world by Austin Lewis and Selig Schulberg. Indeed no Socialist body was too poor to do Ferrer honor. In Lancaster, Pa., they "*placed the seal of approval to the plan of Prof. Ernest Haeckel of Germany to erect a Ferrer School right before the Pope's eyes, in the Plaza of St. Peter, on the opposite side of the street in front of the Vatican in Rome, as a testimonial of the work of the great martyr.*"

For a little time little differences were forgotten, to be sure, both Socialists and Anarchists seek a "free society." One would use the vote and let the "State die out"; the other would take the shorter route and blow the State to smithereens. That either means of arriving at their aim is inconsequent has not dawned upon the one or the other. For they have not yet comprehended the truth that so long as this old globe is inhabited by mankind the Catholic Church shall be here to give that happiness on earth that passeth understanding, by bringing forgiveness, to repentant sinners.

Emma Goldman — the most gifted of Anarchists — gave to the world her views upon the platform in *Mother Earth.* We quote from the November, 1909, issue:

"*Never before in the history of the world has one man's death so thoroughly united struggling mankind.*"

"*Never before has one man's death called forth such a universal cry of indignation.*"

"Never before has one man's death so completely torn the veil from the sinister face of the hydra-headed monster, the Catholic Church."

"Before the awakened consciousness of mankind the world over the Catholic Church stands condemned as the instigator and perpetrator of the foul crime committed at Montjuich. It is this awakened consciousness which has resurrected Francisco Ferrer."

However, since *Mother Earth* was unstinted in its praise of Czolgosz, the murderer of President McKinley, we submit that candid-minded citizens should find in Miss Goldman's foul denunciations something in favor of the Catholic Church.

Alexander Berkman was outside of prison walls when he paid tribute:

"Ferrer's martyrdom has called forth almost universal indignation against the cabal of priest and ruler that doomed a noble man to death.

"The martyrdom of Ferrer will not have been in vain if through it, the Anarchists — as well as other radical elements — will realize that, in social as well as in individual life, conception precedes birth. The social conception which we need, and must have, is the creation of libertarian centers which shall radiate the atmosphere of the dawn into the life of humanity." (*Mother Earth,* Nov., 1910.)

Rose Pastor Stokes not alone paid with her voice and her pen tributes to Ferrer, she gave to the schools — monuments to his name — her money. *"Last year we echoed Ferrer's cry, 'Long Live the Modern School!' This year we are helping the Modern School to live!*

His soul is marching on. How wonderful it is!" Yes, truly, though it is not less debasing than it is *wonderful* that in our own free America — the land of her adoption — that "Dear Rose" may be kept constantly in the lime-light by her advocacy of Ferrer Schools, the red flag, birth-control and treason, any one of which should be sufficient to exclude Mrs. Stokes from public view.

Before a California audience (*The World,* Oakland, March 28, 1919) William Thurston Brown depicts the "freedom" of the Ferrer School at Stelton, N. J., and makes it his mission to "force" this freedom upon the public schools of our country. As this freedom permits the pupils of Stelton, who "enter into the spirit of the Russian revolution" to "educate themselves" authority is expelled from the school room. Of course this is logical, since if man comes from the troglodyte authority comes from nowhere.

Upton Sinclair modestly informs his admirers that it took "twenty-five years" to compile his little volume —"*The Profits of Religion*" (Pasadena, Calif., 1918) in which he reprints old crass calumnies against the Catholic Church to delight the darkened mind. It seems to matter little to "Uptie" that many of these falsehoods were plainly refuted centuries before his booklet was written in which he does praise to his "friend" after that *dear friend* had separated him from his first wife. Mayhap it was to advertise his Socialist freedom? However that may be, this I-I-I-I—— gentleman did put one new falsehood together with an old one — on the principle that two negatives make one

positive — and thus at once "Uptie" traduces Christ's Church, spreads the propaganda of irresponsibility, and makes a name and money for himself by his defense of Ferrer. Just as the Catholic Church "*Burned Giodaho Bruno for teaching that the earth moves around the sun —that same Church, in the name of the three-headed God, sent out Francesco Ferrer to the firing squad; if it does not do the same thing to the author of this book, it will be solely because of the police.*" (p. 42.)

Some twenty-five minutes of honest seeking after historic truth would be time enough to put to rout the fraud and falsehood gathered in twenty-five years, that Bruno was burned for the astronomical opinions that he held. The Catholic Church is now and ever has been the Patron of Science. It was Copernicus who made the scientific discovery that the earth moves around the sun — *Copernicus was a priest.* Just a little of the money made out of the profits of Mr. Sinclair's irreligious little book, that took twenty-five of his precious years, if put into a reliable book relative to the matter would give proof that Copernicus was honored at Rome for his discovery; that it was a Prince of the Church — Cardinal Schonberg — who urged Copernicus to publish his scientific discoveries for the benefit of the world; that his book was dedicated to Pope Paul III and that the great Father Copernicus retired upon a benefice provided by the Pope. Then, again, if "Uptie" had that gift implored by Bobbie Burns, he might see that it is quite one thing to write scandalously

about the Catholic Church and vaingloriously about himself in his sunny Pasadena home and quite another to spur men on to riot, since Ferrer's act was deemed consequential enough to waste shot upon.

Uptie, Uptie sat on a wall
Uptie, Uptie had a great fall
All the king's oxen and all the king's men
Cannot put Uptie together again.

From the many editorials, that appeared during the years that this sensation was fresh, we select excerpts from two that are fairly representative of the spirit with which the atrocious Ferrer was upheld and the animus that was directed against the Catholic Church; notwithstanding the fact that the Church of Christ had nothing to do with his trial or his execution.

"Ferrer was killed by order of the Spanish Movement and with the approval of all the exploiters of the Spanish people and of the Catholic Church." (*Call*, Oct. 13, 1910.)

"Many will remember the date, October 12, 1909, that the Spanish government, urged by the Catholic Church, pronounced the death sentence upon Francisco Ferrer because he dared to preach the truth as he believed it." The *Minnesota Socialist*, Minneapolis, Sept. 26, 1913.

The division of the Socialist movement known as the "Industrial Workers of the World" shall be called upon, otherwise the most fecund of the diatribes against the Church would be left out. This organization sprang quickly into the lists of Ferrer's idolaters. After many where-ases anent "Bloody Mary" and other historic

perversions, the officers give Ferrer's last words as a rich legacy that spells emancipation —"Aim straight; Long live the Modern Schools"— and then

"Resolved, That the Industrial Workers of the World shall, in the spirit of the murdered scholar, herald among the workers the mission of a united working class. One in the spirit of education and organization, whose fruition will be a society unfettered by wealth or church; a society that shall make impossible the murder of any individual at the behest of a tyrannical priest by an illiterate soldiery, the hirelings of an imbecile king.

"Priest and King! How long, O Workers, shalt thou tolerate their crimes?

"T. J. COLE,
J. J. ETTOR,
H. L. GAINES,
FRANCIS MILLER,
THOS. WHITEHEAD,
General Executive Board.
WM. E. TRAUTMAN,
General Organizer.
VINCENT ST. JOHN,
General Sec.-Treas.

The *Industrial Worker,* Spokane, Wash., Dec. 15, 1909.

Besides the I. W. W. the United Hebrew trades adds its full strength to the Socialist left wing. In the needle industry alone it has some 300,000 men and women who conceive themselves to be victims of the competitive capitalist system and resolve to free themselves through representatives of their own "party and

class" who shall have been educated, thoroughly, in the principles of the modern school. In estimating the volume of the disruptive and destructive force of these organized wage-earners it should be held in view that this body of men and women have none of those fond traditions of nationhood that other races have to temper somewhat their rage when it is lashed into a fury by artful demagogues. Yet they have the vote by which to get control of our government for the determined purpose of confiscating all the capital in private hands as the basis for the complete overturning of our constitution and institutions.

Even the American Federation of Labor, that has never denied the inherent right of a man to operate private property for a legitimate profit, came very near committing the monstrous error of officially classing Ferrer with our own greatest Americans — Washington and Lincoln — who stood to the issue that the people of this nation might be free. It is to the credit of the Fraternal delegate to the A. F. of L.— Father Peter E. Dietz — that the contemplated action of the Executive Council of that body did not come to evil fruition at the Toronto Convention in 1909.

Ah! yes, there is rhyme galore as this Anarchist-Socialist group have the most language to spare. *Mother Earth* sets forth a Song of Solidarity by Bayard Boyesen, formerly an instructor in Columbia University, dedicated reverently to the memory of Ferrer who was "murdered by the House of Bourbon and the Church of Rome."

"But the rocks shall split asunder;
Let kings and Pope beware
When brave men rise and thunder
'For Freedom and Ferrer!'"

The *Social Democratic Herald* (Milwaukee) aspiring to the wreath of fame puts history, prophecy and blasphemy into these words:

"One sad October morn, at the stroke of six,
In this very fortress of Montjuich,
There stood erect before that wall of shame,
(Wrought by a boy, Alfonso is his name, the last king of Spain)
A man of fame, the pride of Spain;
He never bowed to king nor pope
And guided people in their hope,
He must then fall before that wall,
For so ordained the Holy See
And the beast who a king would be!"

Mr. Eunsonshall in the *New York Call* speaks his little piece to show their groveling lust for earthly power:

"Four shots rang out, and Ferrer fell;
'So perish Anarchy,' they cried,
'So die each hated infidel.'
The warm Earth answered, 'Ye have lied';
And Liar Priest, and Liar King,
And Liar minion swine of Spain,
Within our hearts your doom we sing,
And vengeance seek for Ferrer's pain;
So let it flame, that worthy name."

Then, too, the *Melting Pot* shall speak out its venomous mind for it makes history quite regardless of truth. Indeed, this one excerpt alone was sufficient to tell what it is that gives motive to the Socialist movement taken as a whole — hatred of truth — of God.

Those who imagine that the spirit of the bloody Inquisition is gone from the Roman Church, who think that Rome would not still murder heretics wherever it had the power, need but only turn to four short years ago this month — October, 1909 — and recall the martyrdom of Francisco Ferrer, the great Spanish educator, whose only crime was that he advocated a system of public schools in Spain free from the control of the Catholic priests. The law of Spain forbids any schools where the Roman Catholic religion is not taught. This law Francisco Ferrer wanted repealed. He was tried for treason against the King and the Holy Church. He was convicted, sentenced to death, and was shot on October 13, 1909. The pope was appealed to by nearly every scholar in Europe, as well as by Ferrer's own family. One word from the Vatican would have saved Ferrer's life. THE POPE REMAINED DUMB — and one more damnable crime, one more bloody butchery, was chalked up to the account of the infamous Church that has cursed the earth for centuries.

Remember — the accusers of Ferrer were ALL Roman priests — his only crime was his advocacy of free, secular schools — the government of Spain, with a cowardly pup for a king, killed Ferrer because the Roman Church, which is the State religion of Spain, wanted Ferrer killed. Wouldn't you like to have this outfit rule America? Aren't they a fine lot to tell you that Socialism is wicked? (St. Louis, Mo., Oct., 1913.)

We have but to recall the important facts in this

case to satisfy all those to whom truth and reason appeals.

First.— The Catholic Church neither directly nor indirectly had anything to do with Ferrer's arrest, conviction and death. Not a priest or any one connected with the Religious Orders of Spain appeared against Ferrer. On the contrary, the Church did offer him the consolation of religion, which he refused to the end. Moreover, Pope Pius X did appeal to King Alfonso for clemency to Ferrer. It was by the government decided that for "reasons of state" the full penalty should be paid by the "chief instigator" of the revolt.

Second.— The Ferrer Schools of Barcelona had been as freely permitted to work disruption in Spain as the Ferrer and the Rand Schools of New York City are still permitted to train men and women, boys and girls, for the overthrow of American principles and American institutions. As we have said before, not a few of these sometime students are now amongst the "Dictators of the Proletariat" in Russia. As a matter of fact, there were forty-two Ferrer schools unrestrictedly working their wicked will in Barcelona at the time their founder inspired the mob to insurrection in that hopeless city. There was, at this time, plenty, and more of license for the operation of these *modern schools* and there was not a lack of honest educational opportunities in this province of Spain as we shall show upon the authority of Mr. Andrew Shipman, whose reliability is above question. We quote:

"The statistics of Barcelona for the year 1909 show the following results: public schools, 860; private church schools conducted by religious communities, 268; private schools conducted by Catholic laymen, 564; Protestant schools, 22; Ferrer 'laic' schools, 43. This does very well for the city and province of Barcelona, containing a total population of 1,052,977.

It has been said that the schools of Spain still leave 75 per cent of the people illiterate. Those are the statistics of 1860 — fifty years ago. According to the census of 1900 (before Ferrer ever began his schools), Spain had 25,340 public schools, with 1,617,314 pupils, and 6,181 private schools with 344,380 pupils, making a total of 31,521 schools with 1,961,694 pupils, out of a population then of 18,618,086 — somewheres approaching the same average as the State of New York at that date had in her public schools. And this is excluding high schools, seminaries, and the ten universities. And Spain has largely increased her educational facilities in the ten years since 1900."

One point in passing should be noted, namely that all children in the Statistical Census of illiteracy in Spain are included, while our own Statistical Reports exclude children below the age of ten years.

Third.— Ferrer was convicted of treason. That he was guilty of treason there is Socialist testimony in amplitude. Yes, truly they have reversed the moral code given by God to man. They use loyalty for treason; glory for shame. But this blind use of words does not change the character of their intentions. Treason was the International pronouncement at the Stuttgart Congress. The order was given in explicit terms —"*to war upon war.*" That it was followed

out in Barcelona is well known by all the Internationalists. The *Weekly People* (N. Y., Oct. 23, 1909) in an editorial "*The Assassination of Ferrer*" rejoices in the Spaniards' loyalty to the revolutionary cause. "*The Anti-Militarist Resolution promulgated by the International Socialist Congress became the rallying cry of all honorable and enlightened elements in Spain.*"

In his annual report the National Secretary of the Socialist party (*S. P. Official Bulletin,* Jan., 1910) commends the Socialists of Barcelona — they acted in accordance with the recommendations contained in the resolutions adopted by the International Congress at Stuttgart covering this very subject —"war."

"*Better insurrection than war!*" became their slogan and the International Socialist Bureau (Brussels) praised the Ferrerites for their "loyalty" in a stirring appeal issued to the Spanish Socialists. This document was published in all the Socialist papers of our country. Splendid! The Socialists in Spain have risen in open insurrection against war in Morocco: :

SOCIALISTS DID DUTY

"During this shocking state of affairs, the Socialists have done their duty to the end without flinching. The international party owes them a debt of gratitude and sympathy. They have made war against war at the peril of their lives. They have carried out the resolution of our congress and for that reason we ourselves must support them in their acts. Let us proclaim so loudly in these times when reaction, bearing in mind the history of the Commune, is trying by its false news and censure, to transform victims into criminals

and criminals into victims. (*Chicago Daily Socialist*, Aug. 18, 1909."

The last clause of the Stuttgart resolution was introduced by Rosa Luxenburg, delegate from Poland and N. Lenin, delegate from Russia. It was re-enacted at the Basle International Congress. Socialists are pledged —"*to employ all their forces for utilizing the economical and political crisis created by the war, in order to arouse the masses of the people and to hasten the downbreak of the predominance of the capitalist class.*"

Surely, "loyalty" to this mandate had, during the war with Morocco, prompted the Socialists of Spain to use all their forces to "war upon war," and the results were most successful. That the practise of treason was spreading to other countries may be seen in the fact that just at the beginning of the world-war (Sept., 1914) the Social Democratic Party of Russia sent out an official document signed by S. Zimowjen and N. Lenin declaring their members to be in duty bound to war upon war. "*The Basle Resolution, which repeats the words of the Stuttgart Resolution, means that, in case of an outbreak of war, all Socialists shall be obliged and in duty bound to make use of the economic and political crisis brought on by the war to stir up the masses and bring about the social revolution.*"

Thus it was sentimentally clear to their perverted view of honor that Ferrer had become a martyr by taking advantage of a state of war in his own country

to stab Spain in the back. Ferrer had been "loyal" to the Socialist mandate. But this mandate is treason to any just government in the world. Suppose, as an instance, that during the time our troops were defending the honor of America on the fields of France and Flanders, that Morris Hillquit, Victor L. Berger, Kate Richard O'Hare, Dan. Hogan, Frank Midney, Patrick Quinlan, C. E. Ruthenberg, Maynard Shipley, George Spiess, Jr., Job Harriman and Algernon Lee — the proposers of the St. Louis Emergency Convention resolution on war — aided by Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman with their anarchist following —"to hasten the downbreak of the capitalist class" had acted upon the aphorism "better insurrection than war" and carried out their program of "mass action," inducing their poor deluded comrades to mount the barricades and fight like tigers; to destroy 22 churches; 14 convents; 20 schools and colleges; 19 office buildings and private houses; kill 102 persons; seriously wound and maim 312 others; to enter the vaults and carry off 32 dead bodies of nuns through the streets of New York; as did the Ferrerites in their "war upon war" in the City of Barcelona, what then? Would that city if under martial law have given a pink tea to the instigators of the internecine strife? No, surely we should have done in America what was done in a much less serious attempt at the "downbreak of the capitalist class" in Chicago in 1886. This miniature attempt at the revolution to abolish private capital and the wages system by throwing bombs into Haymarket Square should be

fruitful in its lesson. The death toll was six policemen and about sixty persons were injured. From the court records it may be seen that the conviction of the "Chicago Martyrs" — August Spies, Albert Parsons, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Adolph Fisher, George Engel and Louis Lingg was not for throwing the bombs, it was for doing just what the Ferrer-Rand *et al* schools are doing throughout the country. It was not this actual presence at Haymarket Square during the riot that brought about their conviction but rather the disloyal and treasonable statements found in their speeches and writings that sent them to death. The Court of Chicago clearly states the case of translating violent principles into action:

"He who inflames people's minds, and induces them by violent means to accomplish an illegal object, is himself a rioter, even though he take no part in the riot. . . . If he set in motion the physical power of another, he is liable for its result. If he awake into action an indiscriminate power, he is responsible."

Ferrer Schools

Surely, at this point the question is again pertinent — just what are these violent principles taught at the Ferrer schools in so popular a way that even children become easily imbued with them. They are in substance the self-same anti-religious, anti-patriotic, anti-family doctrines that lie as the immoral and inethical base of the many sided movement connoted by the general term Socialism. For a concrete statement we

present a few excerpts from the Third Reader of the Barcelona Modern Schools — a Ferrer text book:

"Don't get excited for the sake of the flag! It is nothing but three yards of cloth stuck on a pole."

"The words 'country,' 'flag,' and 'family' are no more than hypocritical echoes of wind and sound."

"Industries and commerce are names by which merchants cover up their robberies."

"Marriage is prostitution sanctified by the Church and protected by the State."

"The family is one of the principal obstacles to the enlightenment of men."

Surely, words are lost in pity for God's little ones.

Their leading teacher — William J. Durant, gives an outline in "*The Modern School*" (Vol. 1, No. 1) of the Ferrer schools. Durant out Luther's Luther. To be sure Luther discovered the Bible accidentally, though there were up to the time he was educated five hundred editions of it, thirty of which were in his own language — German. But then a public library is much bigger than a Bible and "*the turning point in Durant's life came when he discovered that there was such a thing as a public library.*"

From Spencer's "First Principles," step by step Durant walked right into the first place in the Ferrer schools of America. His pupils study "Homo Sexualism" and "Sex and Religion." To enforce the teaching of the school — since the difference between science

and art is that science is knowing the method and art is to do the deed — the teaching of Ellen Key — the Swedish feminist — is studied and she herself is given to the girl students as their model since Ellen Key "is the most consistent of women, inasmuch as she lives her ideals in her own life."

For the babies the Montessori system is recommended, and the Ferrer schools are far and away ahead of any others of this class since they are most logically anarchistic.

Without religious light; without the ground of reason; without the norm of common sense these teachers boast that they teach without dogmatism, then they set up the stupid dogma that "children must be free to educate themselves." Some may dance when others want to study, for their spirits should not be repressed. Little boys may fight in the school rooms even though the side-walk is a better place to have it out as to which one shall first dance with Maria. Perish the thought — initiation may not be suppressed at the risk of limb or life, any boy or girl could jump out of the window if he or she decided to do so. Neither the child's mind nor its body shall be cramped — the school is positively libertarian.

Of course, nothing is right and nothing is wrong, but then these "teachers" discuss what is right and what is wrong with the children but the children are never forbidden anything and they are never punished in any way for anything.

Public and Parochial Schools

Socialists are energetically taking advantage of every opportunity to control the education of children throughout the country and this is only another way of saying that they would drive out of every school curriculum whatsoever induces love of God and loyalty to country. They base their opposition on the assumption that both religion and patriotism are unscientific:

"I know of no school to which your children may be sent where some superstitions are not taught. In the public schools, where the ordinary superstitions taught in sectarian schools are not taught, some superstitions the child must receive. The superstition of the glory of war, the freedom of our land, patriotism narrowed down to the blind love of one country against other countries, and several other such superstitions. The only place I know of for your children or anybody's children where these and other superstitions are unlearned and beautiful truth is learned is in the Socialist Sunday schools." (Rose Pastor Stokes — Editor Woman's Dep. *New York Call,* Sept. 7, 1908.)

Not content with the fact that the popular Darwinian theory has vitiated the text books of the modern world to the extent that animalism is the cult profused by the so-called educated, with its utter disregard for the soul, even the life of the race, as may be seen in the propaganda of birth control and its kindred abominations, all of which reaches down to the schools in the form of sex hygiene *et al.,* the Socialists want still further to carry the demoralization of animalism into the every-

day life of school children. The city platform of Oakland, Calif., Socialist Party (Jan., 1919) first calls for a class-conscious Soviet government and then calls for this practical step towards their aim: *"We demand a complete revolution in the text books and instructions and that working class principles become the new order of education."* Thus it is that decent words —"working class"— are made to do duty in describing principles that are vicious.

The Socialists of Queens County, N. Y., declared:

"That the party organization go down on record as favoring compulsory public school education." (*Call*, April 24, 1912.)

The New York State Platform — adopted by the Socialist Party in Convention assembled in Albany, July 2, 1916 — declared for "Compulsory school attendance for all children up to the age of 18."

The influence of religion must be weakened, is the burden of the official pronouncement of the Socialist Party of Great Britian under the caption of *Socialism* and *Religion*:

"The sophistication of the children's brains with superstition and hypocritical capitalist codes prevents millions from ever understanding their position in the world."

Nobody is better qualified than Clara Zetkin — a Spartacide leader in Germany — to send the cry of the doctrinaries around the world:

"Cast religion out of the schools! It has no business there, neither from ethic nor pedagogic reasons."

They know, from long experience, that, indeed, materialism is the handmaid of revolution. They know, too, that religion out-of-the public schools is the precursor for closing the private schools where religion is taught. This point is well established. It was set down succinctly in the Erfurt platform (1891) and the Erfurt platform has been the model for all the Socialist political programs since that time. The self-same wording of the plank has been used in the platforms of Socialists in our own country. *"Secularization of the schools. Compulsory attendance at the public schools."*

The late Wilhelm Liebknecht, one of the most influential leaders of the German Social Democratic Party — may be trusted to have amplified its exact intention in his *Socialism: What It Is and What It Seeks to Accomplish.* This passage *"means that the church, that religion should have nothing to do with the school." "It means that the attempt of Catholics, Protestants and others to hold and make their control firm over the intellect" must be frustrated.* This is open. Too open, since it is low grade politics to play at the game of now-you-see-it-and-now-you-don't. When the discussion was on, it was objected as an infringement upon parental rights — that by compelling all children to attend public schools where religious training was forbidden — it was in fact a prohibition upon religious instruction.

The *Social Democratic Herald* (June 21, 1913) — Victor Berger's paper — replied: "But compulsory schooling has nothing to do with the right of the people to be religious or to inculcate their religion." True, the *right* no man — no state — can take away since no man gave it. The right is secure with God, but it is not safe with Darwinism in the saddle; with Socialists in power it would be quite impossible for parents to exercise their natural right to educate their children in compliance with the dictates of their conscience. For witness we call upon the Lenin-Trotsky régime to testify. Surely no discussion is necessary to the same conclusion that in our mixed population of various religious beliefs, with sixty millions of our people non-affiliated with any church, that the teaching of religion in our public schools, as now maintained, is quite impossible if the right of religious conviction is to be respected. Yet, because the general public has stupidly and wickedly acquiesced in the notion that those who demand Godless education for children shall have it all their own way with the public schools, we have now to face the growing demand that no parents shall be allowed to educate their children under religious auspices even in private schools. A pretty kettle of fish! We must, of course, assent that such irresponsible parents as will not safeguard the intelligence of our future citizenry by their voluntary education shall be made to do so. Besides, all will no doubt agree that cooperation through State agencies in the education of children is advisable for too many reasons here to enumerate. But there should be mother-

wit enough within the body politic to safeguard universal education in the interest of the State. Just here is the crux of the whole matter and the sound conclusion must be that since moral education is the necessary base of citizenship and since religious instruction alone supplies the foundation of moral-character the Commonwealth itself should safeguard the basal right of parents to educate their children under religious auspices for its own protection. Hence the complementary conclusion is that Godless schools should be limited strictly to those hapless little ones whose infidel and atheist parents demand such a crippling of the school curriculum.

The issue is coming on apace and the Commonwealth must meet it. Shall natural rights be maintained upon the field of education or shall those who deny natural rights rule our schools?

The Socialist mind may be seen in a text book written by John Spargo, for it is officially circulated by the Socialist party. Its sense is that the Socialist régime would forbid the existence of private schools — of religious schools — and that this *one-class* society would take over the rôle of "the natural protector of the child."

"Whether the socialist régime could tolerate the existence of elementary schools other than its own, such as privately conducted kindergartens and schools, religious schools, and so on, is questionable. Probably not. It would probably not content itself with refusing to permit religious doctrines or ideas to be taught in its schools, but would go further, and,

as the natural protector of the child, guard its independence of thought in later life as far as possible by forbidding religious teaching of any kind in schools for children up to a certain age. Beyond that age, religious education, in all other than the public schools, would be freely permitted. This restriction of religious education to the years of judgment and discretion implies no hostility to religion on the part of the State, but neutrality. Not the least important of the rights of the child is the right to be protected from influences which bias the mind and destroy the possibilities of independent judgment in later life, or make it attainable only as a result of bitter, needless, tragic experience." ("Socialism: A Summary and Interpretation of Its Principles.")

This is indeed an excellent laboratory specimen of the crookedness in thought and expression that is common to those who speak and write in the defense of their cause. Of course, the fault here lies deeper than thought and speech, since its fundamental lack is a moral vision. Having denied God — the First Cause — the source from which moral principles are come, the parents are coolly raped of their natural rights in their children. Then the moral fruit of parental obligations — instructing their children to know God, to love God, and to serve Him — is made to be an immoral obligation on the part of the Commonwealth, since its important part is to prevent religious instruction to children. Out of despoliation, despotism and bigotry the Spargonian twist of mind makes that blameless and at times most desirable product — civil neutrality. We are tempted to echo "*Can you beat it?*"

In studying the educational prospects under the red

régime we should hold in mind that it is to be established upon the will of men, whereas our form of government has its sure foundation upon the will of Almighty God. To the question relative to the control of children by their parents in the Socialist republic Frank M. Eastwood replies in his "Question Box":

"Nobody knows. A few Socialist writers seem to think that children would be the wards of the state, but a greater number are opposed to it. Just what will be is a matter that the people of that time must decide."

Again:

"Would parochial schools be allowed in the Cooperative Commonwealth?

"It is not for an individual of to-day to say just what would be allowed in a society that is not yet organized, but there is nothing in the principles of Socialism that conflicts with the idea of parochial schools or any other schools conducted for the purpose of teaching special branches such as would not likely be taught in a public school. *All such things as this would, however, depend upon the will of the majority,* which would rule under Socialism in fact as it now does in theory."

Nowhere in Socialist philosophy is there any warrant for the conviction that the majority, or the minority for that matter, is under an obligation imposed by the moral law — God's law to rule according to the natural rights of beings human. Nor should this cause surprise. Going no further back than the animal life exhibited within the created universe for the source of

authority, it necessarily rests upon physical force — upon might. Thus it is that right as an absolute principle and wrong as a denial and departure from what is right is quite beyond and above the comprehension of these modern, scientific, class conscious, revolutionizers of the world. The "right of might" has been set up in Russia, the Commissioner of Education, A. V. Lunacharsky, in his report of the All-Russian Teachers Congress disposes of all doubts on the matter as to intention:

"At the session of the Government Commission for Public Education, in connection with a petition of the church meeting, the question of parochial schools was taken up. The Government Commission decided that the educational institutions of the church shall pass over to the administration of the local Soviets for public education. Private initiative may be permitted to found courses for religious instruction, but these shall have no right to include in their programs general educational subjects."

Moreover the deed is done! — Even before the five senses of the child have coordinated in mental vision at the age of about seven years, these absurdly dogmatic folk who deny dogma — and dogma is only a terse statement of a basic principle, that relates the individual to his Creator — deny that the parent has an inalienable right to the child and insist upon "its right to doubt, to investigate, to grow strong in wisdom by the exercise of its mental processes." Louise Bryant — an American Bolshevist apologist — gives her testimony "In Six

Months in Russia" that the one-class Godless school is the one only school permitted:

"Every child in Russia now attends public school. All private institutions are abolished. Not only the children in prison, in reform schools and in orphan asylums now must go to public schools, but also the children of the aristocracy must attend these same schools."

Only a little knowledge of the world's human history is sufficient to see that there is nothing new under the sun. The usurpation of the natural rights of parents was well worked out with the code of Lycurgus and put into every-day educational processes of the children of Sparta during the régime of his *one-class* society in pre-Christian days. Of course it did not last long, even with the Pagans, since a merciful Providence has a way of righting the wrongs of the race when men set up their dogmatic wills quite to the contrary of God's will.

However, Pagans of our day are now masters of the masses and the classes. To be sure Lenin and Trotsky did not wait for a plebiscite relative to the inclusion or the exclusion of religious instruction in schools. No, usurping the power of the Ten Commandments, the rights of civil society and the authority of parents, forthwith, at the point of the machine-gun, they confiscated institutions of learning, denied the natural rights of children and sent them all to their schools where no "superstitions" are taught; where God is a myth, patriotism is a farce, workmen have no country,

the flag a rag fetish, self-expression the law, and self-sacrifice that blunder worse than a crime. From now on Bolshevism will undertake the task of showing that "the power of the Vatican, the Pope, rests upon the ignorance of the masses," that the influence of the Church shall "disappear," that education under Catholic control is what Karl Marx said it was when writing in laudation of the Paris insurrection of 1871 — intellectual "stultification by the priest."

From the evidence submitted it should be deemed no threat but a rather mild caution to say that we had better make haste to encourage religious instruction in the schools, upon an equitable basis, unless our country is ready to accept Debs, Berger, Stokes, Spargo *et al* as the "natural protectors" of American children.

At any rate Catholics are not guilty! They have not, they are not and they will not teach their children that Darwinian doctrine, brought to its perfection and to its Waterloo in the world-war, that might is supreme over spirit. Though all the other institutions, that should be seats of truth not of error, should teach "psychology without a soul" the Catholic philosophers know that it is a first principle of recognition that the identity of a thing — a being — is established by contrast, relative and ultimate. That if all there were to deal with were phenomena, it could not be known for lack of an ultimate contrast, there would be nothing to stand in contrast to the created cosmos by which to establish that which we know as force and matter. But with God-Pure Spirit, Light and Life — as Creator, then phenom-

ena may be sure and known up to one's attained capacity to conceive of material substances in part and the physical universe as one whole. Then too, in this ultimate contrast there is a First Cause — a Perfect Cause — alone sufficient to account for the moral consciousness of man and for his creative art-principle.

Speaking in the large, the world may be sure that three hundred million Catholics throughout the world will maintain their God-given right to obey the mandate of the Canon Law of their Church:

"Parents are bound by the most serious obligation to procure as far as possible the religious, moral, physical, and civil education of their children, and to provide also for their temporal welfare."

Any correct history relative to the subject will show that to the Catholic Church is due the credit for introducing the free public school system. Centuries before Guttenburg invented the printing press (1438), long before material less expensive than vellum was common in book-making free schools were attached to Catholic Churches. So far back as the second century of the Christian era (180 A. D.) academies were maintained to teach divine revelation and Christian experience. Hence dogma and experience were in polarity, therefore these ancient Christians knew both the deductive and the inductive principles involved in education, whether or not these terms were used. So it was that absolute principles, objective reality and sound philosophy formed the three dimensions of education; — in

contrast then, as now, to the Pagan notion that pragmatism will suffice as a foundation of truth.

In 529 A. D. the Council of Vaison commanded the priests of Gaul to take boys into their households and instruct them in their faith, science and art. It is concluded by reputable historians that this decree was in fact the beginning of the parochial school system.

During the eighth century the Bishop of Metz first established schools in Cathedral cities and then expanded the system to include nearly all those places where there were Churches. Besides religious instruction, reading, writing, grammar, rhetoric, psalmody and dialectics were taught.

There is no doubt about the edict for free education more than seven hundred years ago. The third Lateran Council (1179 A. D.) issued a decree that shows education to be a supreme care of the Chief Pastor and moreover it shows that democracy — the rights of the poor — is ever in balanced proportion to the authority vested in Ecclesiastics. We quote: *"That every Cathedral Church have a teacher who is to teach poor scholars and others, and that no one receive a fee for permission to teach."*

In "The Fairest Argument," Rev. John Noll, LL.D. — Editor of *Our Sunday Visitor* — devotes many pages to showing the marvelous educational work done by the Church throughout the centuries. Much of the testimony is taken from non-Catholic friends, who, as historians, are in admiration of the efforts of Holy Mother Church to enlighten the people.

Ireland had seven Universities in the sixth century, Germany had 40,000 elementary schools before Luther was born, he, himself, was educated in one of them.

Florence with 90,000 population had an attendance of 12,000 in the Catholic schools of the thirteenth century.

Before the "Reformation" Catholics had established seventy of the leading universities of Europe, they have added forty-six since that time, which makes a present total of one hundred sixteen. Taken together the Protestant sects have established but thirty-one universities since the religious authority of the Vicar of Christ was thrown off in Germany and in England.

On the American continent the University of Peru was first to be founded at Lima, 1551. Of course it was Catholic. It had flourished nearly half a century before the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock.

Our own record is like to that of all the Christian centuries, everywhere, the first public school within the boundaries of the United States was founded by the Catholics at St. Augustine, Fla., in the year 1600. Thus the Church has a clear title as pioneer upon the field of universal education — secular and religious, for there is more than ample proof that from the year 33 when Christ selected Peter as His Vicar on earth that the command to teach all nations has been faithfully carried out.

Having studied the uprise and the downfall of empires and of republics our own Washington saw clearly that without religious instruction morality cannot be

maintained and conversely without morality no nation can be maintained. This conviction was clearly stated in the quaint language of the day and a wise warning given to the future generations by the Father of our Country, in his farewell address which we should prize as a rich jewel in our national legacy:

"Let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion; whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles."

Catholics have not to plead guilty: for religious principles have never been excluded from their homes nor from their schools. They hear and they obey the instruction that God has given and they know that "*Justice exalteth a nation; but sin maketh nations miserable*" (Proverbs 14, 34). Without God as the author of nations justice were a principle unknown and unknowable. With God as the ultimate cause of every nation under the sun, with Christ the Messiah and Redeemer of all mankind, the central figure of history we have a rational explanation of human society that satisfies the normal requirements of human judgment and conduct. It is true that without supernatural revelation the human mind is enabled, by its natural gifts, to reach the necessity for a First Cause. But this conviction leaves all rational processes minus the explanation of goodness and of sin in the world. The utmost the

First Cause will yield is the positive and the negative action of the human will — that is free-will to do or not to do a specific thing. If, however, plus the First Cause there is supernatural revelation with regard to the creation of man and the fall of our first parents; also plus the historic testimony of Christ and Him Crucified, then the normal mind rests securely upon its compound of natural and supernatural revelation. By reason and experience things natural-scientific are made known to us, by supernatural revelation things — spiritual — beyond our reason and experience are made known to us. Therefore it is plain that things spiritual are wedded to things physical as closely as body and soul are wedded together. That they are not to be separated save by a destruction of mortal life in the one case and by the death of the soul in sin in the other is self-evident. This is the reason that Catholics insist upon secular instruction under religious auspices and quite sufficient it is.

It is surely within bounds to say that a demonstration of self-sacrifice quite equal to the highest quality of patriotism this side of death is witnessed in the parochial school system of our country. Merely to note that the instruction given by Christian brothers and nuns — the many thousands of men and women who leave the world and its allurements to give a life service for the love of God — is reasonably superior to that given as a commercial transaction, we call attention to the contributions of Catholics in dollars and cents for the support of their school. The sum runs into millions annually. Besides the full support of their own schools

Catholics suffer patiently the injustice of paying their pro rata tax to support the public schools.

In 1918 there were 1,593,406 children attending 5,748 Catholic parish schools. In the Report of the U. S. Census of Education (Table 16, Vol. 2, p. 18, 1912) it is estimated that in 1910–1911 the annual cost per capita in the average common school was $34.71 per pupil. At this rate — though as a matter of fact the cost since then has greatly increased — the annual saving to the several states would be $55,317,150.91. Moreover it has been thought a conservative estimate that in 1911 it would have cost over $100,000,000 to erect and equip school buildings to accommodate those Catholic children educated in parochial schools.

Just now — at the conclusion of the world war — when the patriotism of Catholics of every tongue spoken in our country has been shown in supreme devotion to American ideals — there should be a general recognition of the civic value of education under Catholic auspices, since those who have been taught to render unto God what belongs to God give freely what they owe to Cæsar — their life, blood, service and money.

VII

BOLSHEVISM ITSELF

VERY many attempts have been made to put into practical operation Socialist ideals by the establishment of cooperative colonies, but incapacity, jealousy, dishonesty and immorality have disrupted nearly every one of them. In 1871 an attempt was made, on a larger scale, to socialize a civil community — Paris — by the capture of the seat of the French government. After having added some fresh pages of horror to historic record these insurrectionists were forced to capitulate. But this defect did not halt the propaganda of the followers of Marx and Engels, who some seventy years ago determined upon a world conquest. But recently came the opportunity to attempt a Paris Commune on a national scale. In the once despotic land of the Czars has come not what the dream so fondly dreamt of happy cooperation but instead its real self, that like an obsession has driven men's minds from truth as Hagar was driven into the wilderness, there to perish. One may as well attempt to separate the fame of Marx and Engels from their doctrine as to separate Socialism and Bolshevism.

If only shoemakers would stick to their last! The National Security League informs the public that its

"efforts will not be directed against socialism" but rather against the doctrine of Lenin and Bolshevism, thus their program is to separate what is in the nature of things inseparable. The *Liberator* (Feb., 1919), better educated in its own evolutionary philosophy than is the National Security League, sharply taking issue replies: "*the doctrines of Lenin are the doctrines of revolutionary Socialism the world over.*" When experts agree, what novice shall have the temerity to say that they know not their own testimony?

"Lenin is after all nothing but an ordinary Socialist, with the ordinary Socialist program of social revolution everywhere throughout Europe as his object." (Editorial *N. Y. Call*, May 14, 1917.)

"I think it would be ridiculous to suppose there was no German money in the Bolshevist movement — but — Remember, Trotsky and Lenin are preaching to-day the doctrine they were preaching fifteen years ago." (Bessie Beatty, "Red Heart of Russia," p. 133.)

Lincoln Steffens, who is keenly aware of the divergence in thought and method between socialist propaganda and its anarchist counterpart, gives, in his introduction to Trotsky's book —"The Bolsheviki and World Peace," N. Y., 1918 — to the author a clear cut title: "*Leon Trotsky is a Socialist; an orthodox Marxian Socialist.*"

Evidently it requires more study and reflection to get the logical sequence between those socialists who violated the espionage act during the war and those who by wielding the power of the Red Guard defy right and

justice in Russia, than some of our Federal Judges have taken the trouble to give. When addressing the Federal Court at Cleveland recently, the Judge expressed amazement at "the remarkable self-delusion and self-deception of Mr. Debs, who assumes that he is serving humanity and the downtrodden." This is indeed a sympathetic and comprehensive view of that full-fledged fanaticism, that fanaticism that obsesses not a few of those who did what they could to promote treason after our government declared the United States to be in a state of war, and Mr. Debs is assuredly one of those who were not mentally sobered by the tragedy of the times. However, the self-delusion and self-deception of Mr. Debs passes over into fanaticism at a much higher tension than that which statesmanship gives the unwarranted occasion for. Mr. Debs fancies himself not merely a righter of wide-spreading economic wrongs in America, but rather a savior of the world. He blasphemously conceives his mission to be in evolutionary complement to that of our Blessed Lord's — the latest in the direct and mechanical development of time — from Moses to Jesus, to Marx, to Debs. He views himself as above and beyond the law; as the maker of a new order. Confidently, Debs declared his position —"*I despise the law.*" And then he calls upon his followers for "*mass action*" by which the new society shall come into its own here as it has done in Russia. Socialism in Russia — save to those who "see red"— gives just a little glimpse of the disorders of hell. Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ came and gave to Peter the keys

that he might open the door of Heaven to those who wash away their sins in the Blood of the Lamb. Not time nor men change the law, neither does the unrepentant sinner break through the happiness here or heaven hereafter.

But the Judge mistakes the issue, if not the man, with which he is dealing, when, to the prisoner before the bar, His Honor says the principles you enunciate are "anarchy pure and simple and not in conformity with any of the works on Socialism that I have read." Unfortunately, we must conclude that the Court has but a very slight acquaintance with the written or the spoken word that has long since been digging at the foundation principles of American institutions, at sane government everywhere. Aye! at the very foundation of civil society since the Ten Commandments are accredited with no more power than a syllabus. Even a little attention to the matter that floats down the stream of popular discontent should have informed the Court that the four times presidential candidate has not renounced his allegiance to his Socialist doctrine and that Debs is not in self-contradiction when he declares:

"From the crown of my head to the soles of my feet I am Bolshevist and proud of it."

It bodes ill for the clarity of public opinion that such organizations as the National Security League attempt the impossible task of fighting Bolshevism and excusing Socialism. The foremost leaders of the two Socialist parties of our country know very well that this latest designation of the movement is in reality but

a nick-name, and the rank and file of the entire membership are in no doubt about the correctness of using Socialism and Bolshevism interchangeably. In the opening paragraph of *The Proclamation On Russia* (Bolshevist Russia) adopted by the Socialist Party (Aug. 11, 1918) the world progress of their movement is clearly stated:

"Since the French Revolution — there has been no other advance in democratic progress and social justice comparable to the Russian Revolution — the Russian people have established an advanced form of democracy — a Socialist Government — Economically, and socially, as well as politically, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic is a government of the workers, by the workers, and for the workers."— "The Socialist Party of America declares itself in accord with Revolutionary Russia and urges our government and our people to cooperate with it —."

The Socialist Labor Party likewise officially declares its unity with Bolshevism. The Editor of the *Weekly People,* Olive M. Johnson, says:

"We celebrate the anniversary of the Bolsheviki (Nov. 7, 1918) not as an honor from another nation but as an integral part of the International proletariat."

A special magazine *One Year of Revolution* (N. Y., Nov. 7, 1918) was issued to do honor to the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic on its first anniversary.

Louis C. Fraina, one of the leading propagandists of Bolshevism in America, pays tribute to the doctrine and to a leader:

"LENIN — AN APPRECIATION

"Marx was the master of the Revolution in theory. Lenin is the master of the Revolution in action. But as Marx the man of theory, had great capacity for action, so Lenin, the man of action, has great capacity for theory.

"Marxism is the theoretical instrument of the proletarian revolution; it is upon the basis of Marxism that Lenin builds. And the great achievement of Lenin is the restoration of Marxism to its real character as an instrument of revolutionary action."

Of Trotsky the editor of the *N. Y. Volkeszeitung,* Ludwig Lore, gives testimony, while he was in New York (1916–1917): *"Every one of his speeches became a discussion of scientific Socialism, a profession of faith in the theories of Marx."*

One piece of testimony taken from across our northern border shall suffice to show that Canadian Socialists gladly acknowledge that the Bolsheviki are nearer their goal than they themselves are. We quote from Gordon Nelson, Editor, *Labor News* (Hamilton, Ont.) (*N. E. Leader,* Jan. 18, 1919):

"The only difference between the mass of the Bolsheviki and the mass of the people elsewhere is that the Bolsheviki are class-conscious, intelligent students of conditions as they exist to-day and as they will exist under a cooperative commonwealth. . . . The Bolsheviki are the architects of the social order, the seers and heralds of the new age. Bolshevism is the instrument of the workers for abolishing the old order and establishing the new."

Surely we have given testimony sufficient to satisfy the candid mind that Socialism is Bolshevism — that

Bolshevism is the incomplete practise of the Communist Manifesto given to their followers by Marx and Engels — the founders of so-called "Scientific Socialism." Moreover, we submit that those who hold to a contrary opinion are quite misled as to the mind and the purpose of this world movement that seeks the overthrow of all existing governments in the interest of what they are pleased to term a working class society.

What Is Bolshevism?

Bolshevism is precisely what Pope Leo XIII said it was so long ago as 1878 when overlooking the moral confines of the world from his watch-tower at Rome he warned civilized peoples — Catholics and non-Catholics alike — of that movement that was gathering its forces for an assault upon religion, the family, upon private property and organized society. The well beloved Leo made it plain that the wicked aims of Socialism are the logical outcome of that rebellion four hundred years ago against the spiritual authority of the Vicar of Christ. The doctrine of private interpretation of the word of God weakened into liberalism, atheism, indifferentism, animalism and materialism; together with the decline of faith there was an increasing despotism of rulers, a swelling arrogance of the rich and growing disregard for the rights of the poor, in a word a steep declination towards Paganism.

What then is Bolshevism? It may well be an omen — the presage of a modern Scourge of God. A blind leading of the blind in an almost universal reaction

against political tyranny, commercial extortion and social iniquity. It is an attempt to remedy existing evils by enforcing greater evils upon a long-suffering and sinful public. Giving its promise of more of this world's goods and greater leisure for enjoyment, it seeks to unite the power of the working class under a dictatorship that shall conquer the capitalist class and grind to powder the " capitalist-system " with its complement the " wage-system."

The Class Struggle

The present " class-struggle " between capitatlist masters and wage slaves, at which stage in human evolution we are now supposed to be, is about to climax; and it is predicted, confidently, that a " class-less society " shall emerge from the world conflict and thus form the materialist foundation that shall support the race of supermen. Then, happily, there shall be an end of human nature as it is and as it was; — with the result that human pain and misery shall be at an end. For the purpose of looking at this delusion — a class-less society — we shall briefly examine its antecedent cause — that unreal thing the class-struggle. The necessity for so doing may not to the novice be apparent. But if one would be a member of the Socialist Party he must subscribe to the dogma of the class-struggle, even though only a few of the comrades — the intellectuals — know its real import. This dogma, stated or implied, is found in all the Socialist platforms. It was first promulgated by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*. As

expanded by the doctrinaries of to-day it reads: *"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles."*

"Socialism is the workers' side of the class struggle. Unless it acknowledges its class character, Socialism is like the play of Hamlet without the melancholy Dane, like a ship at sea without a chart." (Joseph E. Cohen, "Socialism for Students," p. 47.)

The elder Liebknecht (Wilhelm) one of the pioneers ranking next to the founders of the movement makes it certain that nothing less than one conflict after another, through all human history, in which the less fit ceases to survive will suffice for the adequate cause of the Socialist movement, to quote:

"Pity for poverty, enthusiasm for equality and freedom, recognition of social injustice and a desire to remove it, is not socialism. Condemnation of wealth and respect for poverty, such as we find in Christianity and other religions, is not socialism. The communism of early times, . . . and as it has at all times and among all people been the elusive dream of some enthusiasts, is not socialism.

"In all these appearances is lacking the real foundation of capitalist society with its class antagonisms. Modern socialism is the child of capitalist society and its class antagonisms. Without these it could not be."

The class-struggle is then the natural power that drives men to act in getting their food supply just as fatalistically as the mill-wheel is driven by the flow of water from above the dam against it. To these latest makers of human nature there are but graded steps from

the mechanical to the animal and but another flight from the animal to beings capable of reason. In fact, the Darwinian theory of the struggle for existence in the animal world has been borrowed, then extended and made to apply to the sociological relationship of men upon the fields of industry, commerce and finance. In other words, the big capitalists eat up the little ones thus leaving the few with all the wealth and the many with no property. In the final struggle, the fiercest of all, the many eat up the few, leaving but one class in existence — the working class.

Indeed this is a delightfully simple explanation of life, its one fault being that all biologists know it to be false. However, as Socialists have learned to respect neither truth nor knowledge they assume that class antagonisms, from ameba to man, account for the changes in the political, juridical and in the moral systems of the race. Thus easily is human nature and the fundamental principles that govern human society gotten rid of.

Enrico Ferri is the Socialist authority on this phase of the theory of the class-struggle. We quote from *Socialism and Modern Science* (p. 74):

"Darwinism has demonstrated that the entire mechanism of animal evolution may be reduced to the struggle for existence between individuals of the same species on the one hand, and between each species and the whole world of living beings."

"In the same way all the machinery of social evolution has been reduced by Marxian socialism to the law of the Struggle between Classes."

Indeed! but since the one class society is about to make its appearance, is not the time overdue when only one species of animal were to be seen?

It was this absurd theory of the class-struggle that led La Salle and other of the earlier Socialist leaders to preach the *Iron law of wages.* This was the rallying cry that brought the Social Democratic Party of Germany into existence and into power. It was assumed that in the struggle between the capitalist and the working class for mastery over the tools of production that wages must gradually, yet inevitably, fall to the lowest subsistent level — just enough to supply the wage earners with bread without butter and to permit them to propagate their species.

Of course, since the iron law of wages will not work it has long since been abandoned by the supposedly serious spokesmen of the movement. Although from the chatter of their popular propagandists one must conclude that this *law* is still their stronghold.

Through their organization into trade unions workmen themselves know that by trade agreement, collective bargaining, conciliation and arbitration boards they have assuaged the conflicts between themselves and their employers. The standard of living has been elevated, hours of labor shortened, wages increased and working conditions bettered in mines, mills and factories. Thus the historic facts show that the wage-earners have moved in the opposite direction from that predicted under the theory of the *class struggle.*

However, the class-struggle theory has done deadly

work, it has instilled into millions of minds the vicious notion that workingmen have no country. Fully to accept the class-struggle is to wipe out love for and obedience to one's country. Louis B. Boudin is a Marxian authority on this phase of the question, beyond dispute. From "Socialism and War" (N. Y. 1916, pp. 216–217) we quote: *"The theory of the Class Struggle is in absolute and irreconcilable opposition to the nationalistic theory of patriotism,— while its practise makes the practise of patriotic virtues utterly impossible."*

"It is primarily a historical theory, an attempt to explain the progress of mankind and the means whereby this progress is brought about. As such it denies the rôle ascribed to race and nationality as factors of human progress by the nationalistic theory, and considers these entities mere incidents in the evolution of mankind, brought forth at a certain stage of this evolution bound to disappear with it."

Surely, to the understanding of Bolshevism one must bring an understanding of the class-struggle, since Bolshevism is an attempt to carry the class-struggle on to its final result — the classless society. Nothing could better illustrate the perversity of human willfulness than this attempt to carry into practise a doctrine that is, by the facts in the case, contradicted in every one of its basic elements. The doctrine of the class-struggle declares for the elimination of the middle class; but the middle class is not being eliminated. It demands the absolute increase of the working class; but the working class is not increasing in numbers relatively. It demands the centralization of all productive capital into

the hands of the few; but statistics show a much wider distribution of productive wealth than was the case at the time Marx and Engels laid down the dogma of the Class-Struggle.

Class-less Society

The next step in the process of making laws for the social organism to follow is taken as dogmatically by Marx as any that we have recorded. The future thus stands revealed — as against the same thought of the whole world — in his: "Poverty of Philosophy"; while around this perversity of right-reason his satellites have ever since hovered like the rim of a wheel around its axis. To quote:

> "The essential condition of the emancipation of the working class is the abolition of all classes."
>
> "The working class will substitute, in the course of its development, for the old order of civil society an association which will exclude classes and their antagonism, and there will no longer be political power, properly speaking, since political power is simply the official form of the antagonism in civil society."

In the vernacular this means that when the last fight is over the politicians shall be the sole survivors. They shall be the sole possessors of the capital of the world, perish the thought that the production of wealth shall take place save for use. Every nation under the sun that is then permitted to shine shall have died out, since politics shall be no more forever and a day. The home shall be everybody's and nobody's for the family shall

cease to exist because the children all belong to the state. Although the state is dead, because it still shall live, long live the state. Be pleased to believe, whether you like it or not, that this edict has gone forth and that no hot or no cold discussions as to whether Marx meant the poverty of philosophy or the misery of philosophy shall hinder this old globe from working out the blind destiny of man as the exact reproduction of the discovery of Socialism, by its founders.

Next in dogmatic authority to Karl Marx comes Frederick Engels. We quote from his "classic" "Socialism Utopian and Scientific."

"THE PROLETARIAT SEIZES THE MACHINERY OF THE STATE AND CONVERTS THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION FIRST INTO STATE PROPERTY. But by so doing, it extinguishes itself as proletariat; by so doing it extinguishes all class distinctions and class contrasts; and along with them the State as such. The society that existed until then, and that moved in class contrasts, needed the state, i. e., an organization of whatever class happened at the time to be the exploiting one, for the purpose of preserving the external conditions under which it carried on production; in other words, for the purpose of forcibly keeping the exploited class down in that condition of subjection — slavery, bondage or vassalage, or wage-labor, which the corresponding mode of production predicated."

". . . Soon as no longer there is any social class to be kept down; soon as, together with class rule and the individual struggle for life, founded in the previous anarchy of production, the conflicts and excesses that issued therefrom have been removed, there is nothing more to be repressed, and rendering necessary a special power of repression — the State. The first act, wherein the State appears as the real representative of the whole body social — the seizure of the means of

production in the name of society — is also its last independent act as State. The interference of the State in social relations becomes superfluous in one domain after another, and falls of itself into desuetude. *The place of a government over persons is taken by the administration of things and the conduct of the processes of production.* The State is not 'abolished'— IT DIES OUT."

In the *Communist Manifesto* (1848), which holds the distinction of being the "supreme classic" of Socialist literature, the class-less society is predicted to come into existence together with the freedom of the working class from capitalist oppression, we quote:

"When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another."

For a further pronouncement upon the revolution in ideas we cull this from *the Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (Engels and Marx):

"We are now rapidly approaching a stage of evolution in production, in which the existence of classes has not only ceased to be a necessity, but becomes a positive fetter on production. Hence these classes must fall as inevitably as they once arose. The state must irrevocably fall with them. The society that is to reorganize production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers, will transfer the machinery of state where it will then belong: into the Museum of Antiquities by the side of the spinning wheel and the bronze ax."

Although the picture of the classless society is never absent from the Socialist literati who dip into the future much further than the human eye can see and hold to common sense, we shall cite only a few of their fervid imaginings that are set down as positively as any master chemist would state the result of the simplest laboratory process. On Nov. 7th, 1917, the Bolsheviki set up the *Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic,* under the Premier Nickolai Lenin with Leon Trotsky as minister of war. Then, from all over the world, went up the cry from their comrades — Socialism is here! Never again can Socialism be called an idle dream of long-haired men and short-haired women! Truly, with the usurpation of the democratic power of the Constituent Assembly, by Lenin and Trotsky, Socialism passed from proposal into action — into Bolshevism, the socialization of private property in Russia together with all that may be implied with despotic power in the hands of men who practise the doctrine of moral irresponsibility.

No wonder there are those who attempt to separate Socialism from Bolshevism! Since August Bebel, ranking highest after the founders of this proletarian cult, says in *Woman and Socialism* (p. 435) he is confident that, " *With the abolition of private property and class antagonism, the state, too, will gradually pass out of existence.*"

Bebel is practised in the art of destruction, not alone does he throw the state overboard, but religion and the family are sent to the bottom of the deep sea, in the

same books. Philip Rappaport is as confidently expecting the classless society: *"From its inception to this day, the state has been, and still is a class institution. It could not and cannot be anything also. It owes its creation to the existence of classes, it will last as long as classes exist and will disappear whenever they cease to exist."* ("Looking Forward," p. 180.)

No doubt, that the state is dependent upon classes; no doubt that it shall last as long as classes exist,— that is to say until the end of the world, which God may wipe out quickly, it is so wicked. But the point for sane men to consider is the doing away with the political and economic injustices that peace may come to earth. Arthur Morrow Lewis carries the matter back to its first principles ("Vital Problems in Social Evolution," p. 78) even while he denies the very ground of reason since he dismisses the *first cause* as non-existent. Thus his passion for the revolution excludes from his view Almighty God whom rational minds must first take cognizance of, together with the state that is absolutely necessary to civil society. Mr. Lewis unhappily lacks the simple, yet fundamental knowledge that since God's government over man is first, constant and final, the state is His agency to protect the natural rights given to the individuals of the human race by Him who made all things in heaven and in earth. We quote:

"Just as God, whom nobody has seen or felt is a figment of the religious brain, so the state with its laws, its soldiers and police, is a mirage of the political imagination!"

But there comes a time for reckoning. In the lives of men it is for eternity, in the lives of nations it is for time. It may be hoped that the violence with which one despotism has been thrown off by another, more horrible in every aspect, in the alleged attempt to set up a one-class society in Russia, shall have the effect of bringing many minds back to the normal — there are cheering signs that it shall be so. Certain it is that the state is being battered from within as never before in the history of the world. Yet the facts show that while the Bolsheviki are, by their international comrades, expected to set up a classless society,— even now while the dictators of the proletariat are killing off the Czar, the royal family, the nobility and the bourgeoisie — these same class-conscious haters of classes are creating fresh classes — to carry on the state? If not, it is to give Russia over to the control of a foreign government.

To await the slowly gasping state to end its life is rather too sluggish a process for American Idealists, the slower going Germans may, of course, permit the political state to die out. But Robert Rives La Monte will hasten the end of all government over persons. The state shall, instanter, end its own life.

"It is thus seen that, according to the teaching of historical materialism, the State is destined, when it becomes the State of the working class, to remove its own foundation — economic inequality — and thus, to commit suicide." ("Socialism: Positive and Negative," p. 113.)

The distinguished doctrinaries are not without the

backing of their multitude. The Socialist platform (1916) demands a classless society —*" a complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be."*

The Socialist Labor Party platform (1912) is not less emphatic in its convictions, but it is more highly " scientific " since it does not commit the error of using a moral word —" right "— since neither moral words nor deeds belong to a category consonant with materialistic atheism upon which the whole movement is founded:

" The Political State, another name for the Class State, is worn out in this, the leading capitalist Nation of the world, most prominently. The Industrial or Socialist State is throbbing for birth. The Political State, being a Class State, is government separate and apart from the productive energies of the people; it is government mainly for holding the ruled class in subjection. The Industrial or Socialist State, being the denial of the Class State, is government that is part and parcel of the productive energies of the people."

" As their functions are different, so are the structures of the two States different. The structure of the Political State contemplates territorial representation only; the structure of the Industrial State contemplates representation of industries, or useful occupation only."

" The program of the Socialist Labor Party is Revolution — the Industrial or Socialist Republic, the Social Order where the Political State is overthrown; where the Congress of the land consists of the representatives of the useful occupations of the land; where accordingly, a government is an essential factor in production —"

From the time of this penning, the furor for making

the world fit for democracy flattered the notion of a classless society. Socialists made much of it with never a thought of making democracy fit for the world. Since, of course, the rage had not gone so far as to demand a complete surrender of private property — of class distinction in economics, socialists and near-socialists goaded it on with rare skill. They considered it an impertinence for any nation under the sun, even our own Columbia, to hold up its head. They were emphatic — the state must die out, commit suicide, or at best go to the old curiosity shop. The new order — in their minds — "throbbing for birth" was sure to bring in the Marxian society. Ah, but that word *state!* It still persists! By their reckoning it should connote nothing more than a "mirage of political imagination." Long ago they discarded what is ever self-evident to noble statesmen — that as religion lays the just foundation of human society, the state is an aggregation of families forming a moral body with a physical territory. That the proper functions of the state are to safeguard the natural rights of its family units, and that the right to own and to operate private property, for the material advantage of buyer and seller, is the binding force that keeps the structure intact. The failure of the Bolsheviki to leave the "bourgeois" term state behind them, even while these villains plunder in the name of democracy, should remind those not wholly under the spell that since reason is a natural function of the human race, men refuse to be one hundred per cent. irrational. To do full justice, this is darkly known to them, as their

ground had been shifted a little before the practical difficulty of the Bolsheviki in getting rid of the term came on. With his latent talent for Talmudic disputation highly evolved Mr. Hillquit came to the rescue of common sense, only just so far as the word goes. Indeed, his *we* is really an ex-cathedra pronouncement:

> "The Socialist society as conceived by modern Socialists differs, of course, very radically from the modern state in form and substance.— It is not the slaveholding state, nor the feudal state, nor the state of the bourgeois,— it is a Socialist state, but a state nevertheless, and since little or nothing can be gained by inventing a new term, we shall hereafter designate the proposed organized Socialist society as the Socialist State." ("Socialism in Theory and Practice," p. 100.)

The Socialist State

Even so,— state it was, state it is and state it shall be — but, although their language swings back to the normal now and again, their aim has not departed from *the revolution.* To Lenin and Trotsky came the bloody distinction of applying their doctrine on a national scale. They "seized the machinery of the state — by means of a revolution," took possession in the name of the proletariat and immediately proceeded, by taking possession of the national wealth and that in private hands, to abolish political and economic classes.

The ground upon which this reign of terror is predicated may now be presented. *The Constitution of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets* will tell just what is intended by wresting from owners all productive capital,

land included, whether justly or unjustly acquired. We quote in part:

"In order to put an end to every ill that oppresses humanity and in order to secure to labor all the rights belonging to it, we recognize that it is necessary to destroy the existing social structure, which rests upon private property in the soil and the means of production, in the spoliation and oppression of the laboring masses, and to substitute for it a Socialist structure. Then the whole earth, its surface and its depths, and all the means and instruments of production, created by the toil of the laboring classes, will belong by right of common property to the whole people, who are united in a fraternal association of laborers.

"Only by giving society a Socialist structure can the division of it into hostile classes be destroyed, only so can we put an end to the spoliation and oppression of men by men, of class by class; and all men — placed upon an equality as to rights and duties — will contribute to the welfare of society according to their strength and capacities, and will receive from society according to their requirements.

"The complete liberation of the laboring classes from spoliation and oppression appears as a problem, not locally or nationally limited, but as a world problem and it can be carried out to its end only through the united exertions of workingmen of all lands. Therefore, the sacred duty rests upon the working class of every country to come to the assistance of the workingmen of other countries who have risen against the capitalistic structure of society.

"The working class of Russia, true to the legacy of the International, overthrew their bourgeoisie in October, 1917, and, with the help of the poorest peasantry, seized the powers of government. In establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry, the working class resolved to wrest capital from the hands of the bourgeoisie, to unite all

the means of production in the hands of the Socialist state and thus to increase as rapidly as possible the mass of productive forces.

"As soon as production shall have been consolidated in the hands of the working masses, united in a gigantic association, . . . as soon as the old bourgeois state with its classes and class hatred, is definitely superseded by a firmly established Socialist society which rests upon universal labor, . . . then, along with the disappearance of class differences, will disappear also the necessity for the dictatorship of the working classes and for state power as the instrument of class domination."

Any doubt as to the calamitous legacy which the old International inflicted upon the race should be dispelled since it has now come into the world of things that are. From the utterly false ideology then set afloat two fundamental errors are selected as forming the false objective of Socialists the world over. First — the notion that the toil of the laboring class has created all the instruments of production and the wealth produced; with the conclusion that all property should be held in common. Second — the notion that the state is an instrument by which the highest class has subjugated and exploited all below it; the wage-earning class being the last class in revolt against the capitalist class as the climax in the evolutionary series.

The notion that labor alone creates economic value is the absurd dogma around which Marx builds his entire — we had almost said — structure, but even theory is too strong a word — better a crazy tower of ponderous words. That the rational exercise of one's labor

power in working out an economic design, is a prime factor in the creation of commodities, with the consequence that economic value is deposited within the merchandise, no sane man denies. But sane minds are equally insistent that other factors are as necessary to the creation of economic value. Only to hint at the necessity of distinguishing between labor and work — we point out that those, who by native genius and attained capacity, design and direct industrial, commercial and financial enterprises are two prime factors in the creation of wealth and so of economic value. Besides it is universally recognized that resident within natural objects, forces and substances, appropriated to the uses of civilized society, there is economic value. Also, that the Commonwealth itself, as the truly competent maker of money, contributes — by facilitating exchange — to the enterprise of wealth production and is therefore an essential factor in the creation of economic value. Herein is seen the monstrous injustice of the assertion that since all the economic value extant was "created by the toil of the laboring classes" it should be confiscated by them once the working class has control of the state.

No less absurd is the notion that the organized power of civil society is merely a club that having, upon revolution upon revolution, passed from one class to another is now almost in the hands of wage-slaves, with which to knock and drag out the capitalist class, that hereafter proletarians shall inhabit the earth. So clearly has the mind of Pope Leo XIII seen the designs

of Almighty God in creating the constitution natural to rational beings, by which, if they will but obey the moral law, provision is made for justice and equity, peace and plenty, to spread its benign rule over the face of the earth, that we shall quote from his Encyclical on "The Christian Constitution of the State":

"Man's natural instinct moves him to live in Civil society, for he cannot, in dwelling apart, provide himself with the necessary requirements of life, nor procure the means of developing his mental and moral faculties. Hence it is divinely ordained that he should lead his life — be it family, social or civil — with his fellowmen, amongst whom alone his several wants can be adequately supplied."

The experience of Defoe's "Robinson Crusoe" serves well as a picture of human society about to become extinct, not as a sound basis for viewing economics or politics. Economic value was a thing unknown save for the exchange by members of organized society of the differing necessities of living. Which, as we have said elsewhere, takes place normally for reasons of mutual advantage in the possession of something different, as boots for dollars, upon a basis of equity. The individuals decide what they want more than what they have, and the state sets up economic value objectively in money, two functions of which is to measure value and set the price of commodities that the equities between all citizens may be safe-guarded. Robinson Crusoe also serves as a contrast between men under government and the pure liberty of a lone man on a desert island. Crusoe is indeed under the command of God, but he can

render nothing to Cæsar, since even the family — the unit of the state and the lowest terms to which human government can be reduced — is absent. It should be seen that whatever the form, aristocratic or democratic, government to be valid must, humanly speaking, be just, since in the nature of things the same divine law that governs the individual and the family gives sanction to the state, in safeguarding the life, freedom and property of its members.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

This being so — Rousseau to the contrary notwithstanding — rightly informed men reject in toto the notion that the power of the state is merely of human sanction. God gives to Cæsar his power to rule wisely, not illy, over the peoples of nations. Hence Christians completely reject the Socialist-Bolshevist contention that the state is an arbitrary organization in the control of one class to subject to its will, to coerce another class for its economic advantage. Nevertheless it is their perverse intention to follow an ideology that pictures two opposing and impossible schemes. Namely, a free society of persons — no law whatever over them, together with an authoritative administration over the production of all commodities by the entire community, that shall be absolute in its control: — Anarchy and slavery! To this end the Bolsheviki destroyed the Constituent Assembly that was made up of various representatives of the various classes and the various political divisions of the sometime Russian Empire, then set up what they are

pleased to style a "Dictatorship of the Proletariat." This phrase was coined by Marx and Engels to signify the rule of the working class on its "road to power," which simply means that during the period when land and capital are being confiscated and the life of the bourgeoisie wiped out that the power for red ruin must be in the hands, not of the people, but of a despot. Lenin defends the dictum and carries out the Socialists' instruction of more than one half century ago:

"The historical experience of all revolutions, the universal historical — economic and political — lesson was summed up by Marx in his brief, sharp, exact and vivid formula: *the dictatorship of the proletariat.* And that the Russian revolution has correctly approached this universal historical problem has been proved by the victorious march of the Soviet organization among all the peoples and tongues of Russia." ("Soviets at Work," p. 31.)

There should be no mistake on this point of Socialist doctrine, since this is *The Revolution* to be brought about in every country in the world — save Russia, where it is accomplished. Their constitution sets it down in no uncertain terms and it is the one doctrine that falls within the mental grasp of every one of their world-wide membership. *The Revolution* is the first step to be taken in the process of centralizing all private property into the hands of the one class society, and a dictator is necessary to carry out *the Revolution.* We quote from the *Communist Manifesto:*

"The first step in the revolution by the working class is

to raise the proletariat to the position of the ruling class; to win the battle of democracy.

"The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie; to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, *i. e.*, of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

"Of course, in the beginning this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property and on the conditions of bourgeois production."

But Marx was too fully determined upon leadership to leave his followers without the translation of this doctrine into its personal term. His *Critique of the Gotha Program* does this:

"Between the capitalistic society and the communistic, lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period, in which the state cannot be anything else but the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Yes, Marx is dead, but Lenin has been found quite equal to this task — rapine, bloodshed, rape and murder. Yet withal Lenin deems his dictatorship of the proletariat as something "too mild, quite frequently resembling jam rather than iron." In his booklet —"Soviets at Work"— more drastic action against the bourgeoisie is called for. Under his condemnation especially falls these genteel and pale reds who do not relish following out to the letter their law in the Marxian Talmud. Lenin knows that *"Dictatorship is a great word, and great words must not be in vain. A dictatorship is*

an iron rule, with revolutionary daring and swift and merciless in the suppression of the exploiters as well as the things, and the rule is too mild, quite frequently resembling jam rather than iron."

Truly there is much in the point of view; or rather in the fundamental principles upon which judgment is based. From the reports of the Socialists themselves, it would seem that the Russian dictatorship had acted swiftly and mercilessly in this revolution, that the activities of the Red Guard are as much like "jam" as horror and terror can be made.

However, our concern, just here, is to make it evident that the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat is taken as part and parcel of Socialism. Referring to the demonstration in Russia *The Proletarian,* a Socialist monthly published in Detroit (Jan., 1919), very frankly acknowledges the doctrine and as frankly expresses an opinion that sound minds will be glad to note, that not all its followers are ready to carry Socialism to its logical conclusion: *"Here we have the classical statement of the Marxian class-struggle theory, showing its logical outcome to be a dictatorship of the proletariat. While practically all Socialists give this theory their tacit endorsement, it is doubtful if all who call themselves Socialists realize its portent, and would put these principles into actual operation."*

The *Revolutionary Age* (Boston, Dec. 7, 1918) tells what a proletarian dictatorship means and the reason why a truly democratic government is not to be tolerated:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a recognition of the fact that only one class in society counts, the working class; that it is the mission of this class to end class rule by annihilating the basis of class rule — the bourgeois control of industry. In the reconstruction of society on a Socialist basis, the proletariat alone is the dynamic force; all other classes are necessarily opposed to Socialism, and counter-revolutionary. A Constituent Assembly, accordingly, by instituting a 'government of all the classes,' acts against the coming of Socialism; and while in this government 'Socialist' influence may be strong or even predominant, the government will gradually become more and more bourgeois, since the retention of bourgeois democracy, of bourgeois control of industry, of the parliamentary and other institutions of Capitalism will baffle proletarian action, will strengthen the control of the bourgeoisie, and the 'government of all classes' becomes a government of one class — the predatory class of capital."

Here, in a nutshell, is the principle upon which the repudiation of democracy in government takes place in the socialist mind — the open confession that the one-class society must rule by a dictatorship which is also the tacit confession that ere the one-class society has been established it shall be divided into dictators and the proletariat. Therefore, we make the point that this is but one of the many thousands of ways Socialists have of talking about an impossible régime — the classless society. Whatever it be called, *free society* or what not, this scheme of Marx has no chance of working since it is altogether against the human constitution that no man had a hand in making. Bad as was the old Russian despotism it had the merit of some little concession to the

nature that Almighty God graciously gave to men whereas Socialists have made human nature and the "Socialist State" all out of their own heads.

Democracy

To talk glowingly of democracy has ever been a strong point in Socialist propaganda; it has brought many generous minded recruits into its camp there to stay until this once-thought-to-be-great-cause turned to dust and ashes in the mouth; for it was found to be the boastful and bestial opposite of all their hearts and minds had hoped to find. Quite contrary to their talk the spirit of Socialism is that of the first great rebel, who rather than be chief amongst the angels while obedient to Almighty God, took his choice and became supreme-overlord amongst the devils in their rebellion against their Creator and Law Giver. This is the key to the secret that has baffled many, for the fact is that despotism, not democracy, has from the first characterized the practises of the movement within and now that it holds a mighty, but brief, power its spirit of unrelenting control is attested by the Bolsheviki in Russia whose deeds shock the world. Such is the profession of democracy that highwaymen might make while demanding your money with or without your life, so you choose.

In defending "the first scientific Socialist revolution," and its overthrow of the Russian democratic assembly that had dethroned the Czar, Bertram D. Wolfe, a correspondent to the *N. Y. Call* (Sep. 22, 1918), defends the dictatorship of Lenin-Trotsky against the

comment of one who is not so red as a Marxian is expected to be. We cite Mr. Wolfe's approval of the destruction of a democratic government as being the general opinion of the Bolshevists in our country,— in fact the conviction of all who know and accept Socialism as it really is — a menace to Christian civilization: *"You charge that they have abolished the Constituent Assembly. They have, and rightly. And if you were a scientific Socialist you would realize the elementary truth that the administration of industry required it. The Constituent Assembly was not elected by industries, but by 'districts' or political units. It included bourgeois and worker alike. But the task of Socialism was to abolish the bourgeois and abolish the social system that made him possible."*

An article on *The Constituent Assembly and the Bolsheviki* published in the *New International* (N. Y. Feb. 1918) "a Journal of Revolutionary Socialist Reconstruction" treats of this matter in a manner that should satisfy the doubting Thomases amongst honest folk that democracy as a principle of government is quite foreign to the minds of these men who assume the wide world to be a stamping ground for their exploits:

"All democracy is relative, is class democracy. The revolution in Russia recognizes no other class but the proletariat and proletarian peasantry. Its democracy is also class democracy, with this vital difference; that while bourgeois 'democracy' perpetuates class tyranny, proletarian democracy annihilates tyranny.

"The problem of parliamentary government is a crucial one in the proletarian revolution: Socialism cannot seize the

ready-made machinery of the State and use it for its purposes. A new form of government must be organized by the revolutionary proletariat,— as in Russia.

"Years ago, Karl Marx indicated the function of a 'dictatorship of the proletariat' in the Social Revolution. It is precisely this dictatorship that is now making history in revolutionary Russia. The dictatorship of the proletariat refuses to recognize any 'rights' of the nonproletarian class; it breaks completely with the institutions, ideology and superstitions of the bourgeois régime; it uses dictatorial measures, the dictatorship of a class, to promote and establish the revolution and the new society, in which dictatorship will be incompatible with the actuality of full and free democracy."

If any are still in doubt that democracy is a shackle upon these exploits we shall call upon the Premier of Red Russia to speak for himself: *"The word democracy cannot be scientifically applied to the Communist party. Since March, 1917, the word democracy is simply a shackle fastened upon the Revolutionary nation and preventing it from establishing boldly, freely and regardless of all obstacles a new form of power — the Council of the Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies — harbinger of the abolition of every form of authority."* (Nikolai Lenin, *New International,* New York, April, 1918.)

Of course it should not be expected that language such as this would be found in Socialist platforms. It would have a chilling effect and turn away recruits that flaming words for the fruits of democracy to be secured under *Socialism Victorious* bring into their line of battle. The full consequences of their doctrines are given inside

when the novice has been entirely weaned away from what had been dear and decent. Democracy is indeed their word to conjure with! But the distemper of their movement lies just behind its political demand for proportional representation. Surely, this is an appeal for the perfection of democracy as it is found in our own glorious home land! Even the minority shall have its rights respected. Ah, yes, so long as Socialists are in the minority within the "bourgeois state" proportional representation is of great advantage in giving them the floor of the state and federal houses of government as a platform from which to make appeals to the generous impulse of the people — and our Heavenly Father knows that the powerful and hard hearted make heavy the lot of the poor. But once sufficient power is in their hands, exultingly they cry out for a dictatorship all their own, as did John Reed: *"The Bolsheviki believe in democracy of the working class and no democracy for anybody else."* (Public Meeting, Manhattan Lyceum, N. Y., Thurs., March 6, 1919.)

Paris Commune

Concluding his introduction to Marx's *Civil War in France* — (N. Y. Labor News Co. 1902) with a question that he answers instanter Frederick Engels places the sanction of his prestige upon the Communards of 1871 — who at the time when the loyal sons of France had just suffered defeat at the hands of the Prussians — took a traitor's advantage to inaugurate in Paris a second reign of terror: *"Well, gentle sirs, would you like*

to know how this dictatorship looks? Then look at the Paris Commune. That was the dictatorship of the proletariat."

But Marx, the elder, the more terrible father of the Bolsheviki, the author of the book, adds the sinister touch that casts out all expectation of learning the truth of this first Socialist experience from the defenders of atheism and anti-patriotism. We quote:

"Workingmen's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priest will not avail to redeem them."

To add the voice of a philosopher to the voices of these scientific founders we present as substantial international authority Ernest Belfort Bax in an excerpt taken from a "Short History of the Paris Commune" (London, 1907): *"The Commune of Paris is the one event which the Socialists throughout the world have agreed with single accord to celebrate.— The Commune is a landmark as being the first Administration manned by the working classes, having for its more or less conscious aim the reorganization of social conditions — transformation of a civilized society into a Socialist society."*

Taking this cue from their great leaders, socialists the world over have ever since this carnage in Paris celebrated the 18th of March as the harbinger of the universal rule of the proletariat. Now there is added to this day of revelry that of the 7th of November the

date of the blood-red triumph of Bolshevism in Russia. The Editor of *Truth* — gifted in concealing the truth — shall give with his lurid pen the threat of the world's future: *"To-day the tables are turned, it is now our turn to rule. The fight of 1871 but adds assurance to the victory of the workers in the coming years. We shall live to see the Commune of the World, the whole wide, wide world. All through the length and breadth of every nation will ring the same cry that rang through the streets of Paris, on that glorious March morning, in 1871, Vive La Commune!"*

"Masters you murdered us in Paris, because we were too simple in our beliefs in your goodness. In 1871 we trusted you, in 1919 we despise you, because we know you for what you are. As in 1871, the French masters allied themselves with the Prussians, so in 1919 Allied capitalists ally themselves with the Scheidemanns, so that they too might drown the workers in seas of blood. But the mistakes of the past, are but the signposts of the future. What we lost by our mistakes in 1871, we shall gain by our knowledge of same." (Socialist official weekly, March 14th, 1919, Duluth, Mich.)

Their experience of 1871, linked to that of 1919 is taken seriously as the precursor of the Commune of the wide world — with an extra wide thrown in for good measure — by the *Revolutionary Age* (Boston, Mar. 15, 1919.) Its full front page would make it certain that Lenin has looked to the Paris Commune as his guide in setting up the dictatorship of the proletariat. But having Russia on the hip he has surely bettered the instruction of 1871. We quote: "The Paris Com-

mune was the most natural expression of the proletarian revolution up to that time.

"The contribution of the Communê to revolutionary theory and tactics consisted in developing *a new type of state,* by means of which the proletariat could accomplish its emancipation. The Commune annihilated the machinery of the old state — its army, its police and its bureaucracy, independent of and imposed upon the masses, the instruments of repression used by the state to coerce the working class; and the Commune, moreover, abolished legislative and executive functions *as separate functions,* these being united democratically in the Commune. The Paris Commune demonstrated in actual practise that the first task of the militant proletariat is the conquest of power by the revolutionary proletariat — the annihilation of the old bourgeois state and the construction of a new proletarian state. On this head, N. Lenin wrote in April, 1917: *'As to the revolutionary organization and its task, the conquest of the power of the state and militarism: From the experience of the Paris Commune, Marx shows that'* the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made machinery of the state and wield it for its purposes. *The proletariat must break down this machinery. We claim we do not need the bourgeois state machinery as completed in the democratic bourgeois republic, but the direct power of armed and organized workers. Such is the state we need. Such was the character of the Commune of 1871 and of the Soviets of Workmen and Soldiers of 1905 and 1917. On this basis we build.'* The new proletarian state of the Paris Commune functioned as a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, precisely as in Soviet Russia in 1917–1919."

Precisely, while the Paris Commune lasted, it was about two months, after the red flag was flung to the breeze from Hotel de Ville, it did register upon the an-

nals of Socialist history the same quality of fury that is now wreaking its vengeance upon the poor, starved and beaten people of Russia. In these days of 1871 while the mob infuriated by the atheistic spirit, pillaged and desecrated the churches, the irresponsible holders of the government's power confiscated land and capital, repudiated debts, abolished rents, equalized pay for work, suppressed all newspapers that did not support the cause of revolution, declared against religious education and destroyed priceless works of art. At least one hundred thousand lives were sacrificed to this unholy passion for a scheme of society that is against the dictates of reason and the love of God; the property damage was estimated at $110,000,000.

That atheistic-materialism is the basis upon which this event, that is "enshrined in the hearts of Socialists," rests may be clearly seen we present two incidents. Having before him Abbe Deguerry, as an offender against the Marxian régime, the Judge of the Council of Discipline wanted to know what work he and his fellow-priests did? *"We teach the religion of our Lord Jesus Christ."* The Judge replied—*"There are no Lords. We do not know any Lords."* To the Judge catechizing the Archbishop of Paris in the same manner, Monsigneur Georges Darboy answered: *"I am a servant of God."* *"Where does he live?"* asked the Judge. The Archbishop gave answer: *"Everywhere."* Then came the blasphemous order from the Court: *"Send this man to the Conciergerie, and issue a warrant for the arrest of his Master, one called God, who has no perma-*

nent residence, and is, consequently contrary to law, living in a perpetual state of vagabondage."

Both these priests paid the supreme sacrifice for Christ and Him crucified in the reign of the Revolution of 1871. Together with a number of priests the Archbishop of Paris stood against a wall facing at close range twenty of the Red Guards — who were enlisted for the purpose of killing at the command of the first "class conscious" Socialist dictator of the proletariat. The venerable Archbishop Darboy raised his hand in benediction while all the priests were praying. *"That's your benediction, is it?"* cried out one of the gunmen — *"Now take mine,"* and with his taunt he gave the order for bullets to be sent through the body of the beloved Archbishop and his priests. Our then American Minister to Paris said of His Grace: "He was one of the most charming and agreeable of men and was beloved alike by rich and poor. He had spent his whole life in acts of charity and benevolence."

The answer to the questions of the pure-minded Abbie Deguerry —*"What have they to gain by killing us? What harm have we done to them?"* will reveal the whole story, for these moral issues search to the innermost motive of the Bolshevist movement. Those who are persuaded of the mere materialist origin of the race can have no possible use, in reason, for a priest. No useful work whatsoever could a priest find to do amongst a non-moral herd, never so much higher than the common beasts of the field. If they are to carry out their cult of atheistic materialism into practise the knowledge

of and the love of God must be wiped out of the mind and the heart of the people. This is what they will *gain* by killing priests and destroying the Church of Christ, in their diseased imagination. Given the distorted view of life that morality is and ever has been non-existent together with the possession of all capital extant and the power of the Red Guard to dictate the industrial life of the proletariat, the *harm* that priests can do is to spend the substance that is produced in the support of religious worship and to feed, clothe and shelter themselves, since no return whatsoever comes to the commonalty. Moreover, neither suicide nor murder is objectionable. The unborn, the infirm, the lame, the halt and the blind may, without compunction, be put out of the path trod by the super-man. It is said in a thousand variants — God is a vagabond and His ministers shall not eat up the wealth of a proletarian régime. Out with God; out with religion, out with priests.

As it was in 1871 so it is in 1919 that the slaughter of priests is defended, the one word "hoarding" is now sufficient to make their murder commendable. We quote the matter as it appeared in America's leading Socialist daily — *New York Call* (Apr. 3, 1919).

"Pope and Lenin Exchange Wires

"His Holiness Protests Killing Priests — Were Hoarding Food, Was Reply.

"Rome, April 2.— The Osservatore Romano to-day published an interchange of correspondence between Pope Benedict and the Bolsheviki regarding alleged persecution of the Catholic clergy in Russia.

Archbishop Silvestre of Omsk appealed to the Pope to issue an official protest, stating that 20 bishops and hundreds of priests had been murdered and mutilated, and a number of churches destroyed.

The Pope sent a wireless to Premier Lenin, imploring him, in the name of humanity, to stop these excesses. Foreign Minister Tchitcherin replied that all Russians are equal and accused the priests of hoarding food.

If our strictures anent the first dictatorship of the proletariat seem too severe it is certain that the well known opinion of Giuseppe Mazinni, an associate of Garibaldi, an eye-witness of the commune of Paris, an implacable enemy of the Catholic Church, cannot be prejudiced in our favor when speaking of bloody week of 1871.

"A people was wallowing about as if drunk, raging against itself and lacerating its limbs with its teeth, while howling triumphant cries, dancing an infernal dance before the grave which it had dug with its own hands, killing, torturing, burning, and committing crimes without sense, aim or hope. It reminded us of the most horrid visions of Dante's Hell."

In spite of the historic facts in the case of 1871 and in face of the scandalous events of 1917 only here and there one of the leading Socialists of our country have recoiled from the logical application of their doctrine as seen in the Lenin dictatorship of Russia. The vast number of these " gentle sirs " have looked at the Paris Commune and that glimpse has satisfied them that the proletarian dictatorship is just what is wanted to disrupt Christian civilization. Surely they are correct

since a more powerful solvent has not been found for justice, equity, decency and morality.

Soviets

Premier Lenin called into practise "the brief, sharp, exact-formula" of Marx and it worked like a charm in realizing "the dictatorship of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat without which Socialism *is not to be thought of.*" In Russia the political state — the class state is abolished and the classless society set up. This, the first industrial state, is made up of but one class, namely, the "urban and rural proletariat and the poorest peasants," organized into local and provincial soviets and federated in the All Russian Congress. We quote from the constitution of Russia adopted November 8, 1917.

"The fundamental problem of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic involves, in view of the present transition period, the establishment of a dictatorship of the urban and rural proletariat and the poorest peasantry in the form of a powerful All-Russian Soviet authority, for the purpose of the crushing of the bourgeoisie, abolishing the exploitation of men by men and of introducing Socialism in which there will be neither a division into classes nor a state authority.

"The Russian Republic is a free Socialist Society of all the working people of Russia. The entire power, within the boundaries of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, belongs to all the working people of Russia, united in urban and rural Soviets."

So it is that with soviets-councils made up of representatives from the various factories and crafts, poorest

peasants and the soldiers and sailors — very like the central labor bodies of our trade unions, rather than representatives from the several geographical divisions of cities as with our political government — that "a government of things," as Engels termed it, is alleged to be under way with its industrial army under the command of a dictator.

Ah, yes, this is the "free society"— in speech, but in fact a more complete enslavement of men than history records.

Upon being asked —"How is a Soviet formed?" Albert Rhys Williams — acknowledged representative of the Russian Bolsheviki official propaganda — made answer:

"Instead of electing men at the polls, they are elected in the shops and unions. For example, every 500 workers in a munition factory select a delegate. The shoe factory elects a delegate, as do the clothing shops, the brick yards, glass works, and all the other industries which happen to be in that city. The different unions do likewise. The regiments of soldiers and the sailors also elect their delegates; likewise the teachers, the clerks, and the engineers who are organized." ("The Bolsheviks and the Soviets.")

These local soviets elect delegates to Provincial Soviets and thus indirectly to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets which meets twice a year. From this central body is elected an Executive Committee of 200 to administer the affairs of the Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. The most important of the specific departments made up from the Executive Committee of two

hundred is the Council of the People's Commissaires.

The basis of representation to the All-Russian Congress is so laid down that the vote of a Red Guard is equal to eight votes of the city proletarians; while the power of one of these city votes is equal to five of the poor peasants in the rural districts. Thus it may be seen that the Red Guard and the city proletariat may easily dominate the "first Socialist Republic of the World."

Moreover the privilege of voting is given only to those who make a living by "labor that is productive and useful to society." Adhering strictly to the preverse opinion that the individual is without a soul, the animal origin of humanity is enforced by denying that Priests are useful to society, also that religious instruction is work, all ministers of God, monks and nuns, all religious educators and all persons who in whatsoever capacity assist in this most useful of all services given to mankind are listed together with the demented and mentally deficient who are in fact disqualified to perform the tasks of citizenship. Their constitution will show that the proletarians and the poorest peasantry are considered useful to a Socialist society. We quote from their Constitution adopted November 8, 1917:

SECTION FIRST: CONCERNING THE SUFFRAGE

I. The right to vote and to be elected to the Soviets is enjoyed by the following citizens of the Russian Socialistic Soviet Republic of both sexes who shall have completed their eighteenth year by the day of the election:

1. All who have acquired the means of living through la-

bor that is productive and useful to society and are members of the trades associations, namely:

(a) Laborers and employees of all classes who are employed in industry, trade and agriculture.

(b) Peasants and Cossack agricultural laborers who hire no labor.

(c) Employees and laborers in the offices of the Soviet government.

2. Soldiers of the army and navy of the Soviets.

3. Citizens of the two previous categories who have to any degree lost their capacity to work.

II. *The following persons enjoy neither the right to vote nor to be voted for, even though they belong to one of the categories enumerated above, namely:*

(1) Persons who employ hired labor in order to obtain from it an increase in profits.

(2) Persons who have an income without doing any work, such as interest from capital, receipts from property, and so on.

(3) Private merchants, trade and commercial intermediaries.

(4) Employees of communities for religious worship. (Also Monk and Clergy of all denominations.)

(5) Employees and agents of the former police, the gendarmerie corps and the Okhrana; also members of the dynasty that formerly ruled in Russia.

(6) Persons who have in legal form been declared demented or mentally deficient, and also deaf and dumb persons.

(7) Persons who have been punished for selfish or dishonorable misdemeanors.

Of course, with God out of reckoning, sins are no longer possible of commission, but somehow the faults that are left over from the time each man had an in-

dividual soul are even now quite sufficient to deprive men of their vote. On this point their "new" society is both state and church with a vengeance. At any rate "selfish and dishonorable" conduct is bad enough to call out a Ukas, now and again, which enables Lenin-Trotsky still further to centralize this "free" society into their own hands. Not alone have the bourgeoisie been completely disfranchised but those Socialists of the parlor variety have lost their rights. When in June, 1918, the Mensheviki gained control of several local soviets (thus in fact becoming the Bolsheviki) and sent delegates to the All-Russian Congress, these delegates were peremptorily thrown out of the government and the locals electing them were dissolved on the 26th day of July.

An Englishman — Mr. H. V. Keeling — who had lived some five years in Russia — gives the method by which this "one-class" society came into being. Mr. Keeling, because of his lithographic work, was admitted to the Russian Printing Trade Union and remained for sixteen months under Russian rules. He explains that the population was divided into four categories: First — the manual workers; second — the self-employed clerical workers; third — those who hire anybody from house servants to factory workers; fourth — the idle rich, princes, aristocrats, courtiers and the like. The working out of this subdivision of the Russian people is also commented on:

"The penalty for failing to please the Bolsheviki is to be degraded from the class in which you get some food to the

class in which you get scarcely any. In the last few months there has not been anything like enough for the first class and scarcely anything for the others. Class IV, the former rich, I should say, has disappeared.

"If you are not in the first class or are degraded from it you have to prowl about and try to get food secretly; but this is a punishable offense, for which sometimes people may even be shot. People go to the country, taking anything they think the peasants will take in exchange for food and get a bag of flour or a few potatoes. But it is illegal to go out of town without a permit or to buy anything when you get there, so the Red Guards stop them and search them as they come back, and if they find anything confiscate it and often arrest the people and carry them off.

"I saw a woman who had gone to the country and got thirty pounds of flour from her own native place for her children, who were starving. She was seized by the Guards at the station when she was trying to get back, and they took it from her, although she fell on her knees and implored them with sobs to let her keep only a few pounds.

"Then when she found it was no use she threw herself under a train and was killed."

The Russian statistics of 1917 give the information that 771 out of every 1,000 of the population are peasants while only 107 out of the thousand population are city residents. On this basis, since the city folk are kept in power by the vote, it is certain that the franchise is manipulated in favor of the minority. Upon being charged with this injustice it was coolly confessed and defended by Lenin in the *New International* (April, 1918):

"Just as 150,000 lordly landowners under Czarism domi-

nated the 130,000,000 of Russian peasants, so 200,000 members of the Bolshevik Party are imposing their proletarian will on the mass, but this time in the interest of the latter."

Granting that a benevolent despotism is in the interest of a people ascending the ladder of self-government to the height of civilization, it is certain that the honest despots would not rest their claim to the seat of power upon a world propaganda that has for sixty years been demanding industrial democracy upon the basis of universal and equal suffrage.

Expropriating the Expropriators

At last unsound words have been put into violent deeds, for *the revolution* in Russia having expropriated the political bourgeoisie took the long-talked-of step, expropriated from the owners of private property all their land and capital on the assumption that the land naturally belongs to the government and that all capital in private hands has been taken in the form of "surplus value" from the proletariat, bit by bit in the past.

Since the deed is done it may be interesting to know how it was done.

During the academic stages of Bolshevism the question of the confiscation of capital and the remuneration for capital has been a prolific occasion for discussion, scientific and sentimental, in their press and on their platform. But when the power for action came into Bolsheviki hands the die was cast and confiscation became the law. For its authority this act rests se-

curely upon the *Communist Manifest* which calls for the "abolition of property in land." In our country where the farming class is the largest amongst the manual workers and where vote getting has been considered the high road to *the revolution* much discussion pro and con has taken place as to the expediency of stating the land plank in their platform in true Marxian fashion or to assure the farmers, who do not exploit laborers, that they may keep their land. Surely, compromise on this false principle is a better vote getter, but since personal vanity delights in the daring of *no compromise* it is hard to get a decision and as hard to stick to it. Yet, the spectacular *no compromise* of the Socialist has done much to discredit rightful tactics with wage earners. Between our two dominant parties there is no difference as to the underlying principles upon which our nation is based; no dispute about natural rights coming from God; nor about this being a government of laws not of men; neither about private property being a right inherent in the constitution of the human race. Consequently these two parties are in opposition only as to methods that shall best safeguard individual rights and opportunities and secure the well-being and perfection of the body politic.

Compromise, therefore, is essential to getting things done harmoniously with the result of keeping either group from going to extremes. But braggadocio is much more to the liking of those who deal with false principles. When Lincoln Steffens interviewed his friend Debs for *Everybody's Magazine* as to how Social-

ists were to get possession of the trusts — Debs replied: *"Take them."* In his display editorial in the *Appeal to Reason* Fred Warren tells *What I Believe:*

"*I* believe in the confiscation of the productive property of this nation by the working class. I do not believe in confiscating it by piecemeal. That would be foolish and illegal. The plan I favor is that the working class shall first capture the political powers of the state and nation and then the job can be done without the danger of getting cracked skulls and prison sentences."

The Educational Director of the Rand School — Algernon Lee — is as emphatically Marxian if not so picturesque:

"*Confiscation* presents itself as the simplest and most direct method. There is no reason why Socialists should be squeamish about mentioning confiscation as a historic possibility."

The issue is squarely met by the *New York Call* (Nov. 2, 1915) under the editorial caption: *That Blessed Word, Confiscation: "Do we Socialists believe in confiscation of private property? Most certainly we do."*

Indeed, no one of international distinction has ever denied the belief in what is now a consummated business of plunder in Bolshevik Russia, *the Decree on Confiscation and Nationalization of Land,* adopted by the All-Russian Congress of Soviets (Nov. 8, 1917) leaves the nation without justice and the family without inheritance:

"The right of private ownership in land is abolished forever; land can neither be sold, nor bought, nor leased, nor mortgaged, nor appropriated in any other way. The whole of the land of the State, of the appanages, of the Crown, of the monasteries, of the churches, as well as majorats, lands in conditional possession, or endowed to persons, or concerns, privately owned land and land belonging to public bodies, and to peasants, and so on, is herewith expropriated, without any compensation whatever, and it becomes the property of the whole people and is transferred for use to all who till it.

"Those who have suffered from this expropriation are entitled to public relief, but only for the time which may be necessary to allow them to adapt themselves to the new conditions of existence.

"The landlord's property in all land is herewith abolished without compensation.

"The estates of the landlords, as well as the appanage lands and lands belonging to the monasteries, churches, with all their live and dead inventories, manor buildings, and implements, pass into the control of rural Land Committees and District Councils of Peasants' Delegates, until the Constituent Assembly.

"Any damage wilfully caused to the confiscated property, belonging from now on to the whole people, constitutes a grave crime, punishable by the Revolutionary Tribunals. The District Councils of Peasants' Delegates are to take all the measures required for the preservation of strict order while carrying out the confiscation of the estates of the landlords, for recording the size of the estates to be confiscated, for preparing a detailed specification of the whole confiscated property, and for the most stringent revolutionary protection of all the agricultural estates passing now into the hands of the people, with all the buildings, machinery, cattle, stores, etc., appertaining to them.

"All Russian citizens, irrespective of sex, willing to till

the soil with their own labor, or with the assistance of their families, or in company with other peasants, are entitled to receive land for use, and for the duration of time they are able to till it. No hired labor is allowed."

Having nationalized the land, provision for its use was made by an "equal" distribution amongst the tillers; the standard share being a plot that one man is capable of working with his own labor with many complicated modifications easy enough to work out on paper. Within the confines of the cities all real estate is confiscated by the very simple process of the collection of rent by the governmental agents. Even before this book goes to press we may expect tyranny, incompetency and dishonesty to have brought down this wordy structure like a castle built with cards at the puff of the wind; for a very genius at destruction is at work upon a hapless society that had long been under the rule of a man-made worship. Truly God is a jealous God — "Thou shalt have no gods before Me." A department was established to take possession of private property in the name of the *Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.* This "Supreme Council of National Economy" is granted complete control over production, distribution and finance; it may confiscate, requisition, sequestrate and syndicate private industries without redress by the owners. This ruthless effort to "expropriate the expropriators" found its greatest difficulty with nationalizing the banks. But since a proletarian revolution is bound to rid the world of the bourgeoisie, Lenin proceeded to dispose of the *Safe deposit boxes:*

"All monies kept in safe deposit boxes of banks must be paid into the current account of the holders in the National Bank. Gold Note: Gold, in money and ingots, will be confiscated and added to the gold fund of the entire nation."

"Boxes belonging to persons (who oppose the auditing of them after being summoned) are subject to opening by the investigating commissions, appointed by the commissioners of the National Bank, and all the holdings found in them will be confiscated by the National Bank as the property of the people."

National Debts Repudiated:

"All state debts contracted by the régime of the Russian land owners and Russian bourgeoisie, enumerated in a document relating to this matter, are annulled as of December 1, 1917. December coupons of the loans mentioned are not liable to payment.

"In like manner are annulled all guarantees given by the officials of the old régime concerning debts of various enterprises and institutions."

"All foreign debts are repudiated absolutely and without exceptions."

"Short term bond and state treasury series remain intact. Interest on them will not be paid; but obligations to them shall be binding in the same way as credit notes."

"Small propertied (poor) citizens possessing repudiated state notes of internal loans which are not in excess of 10,000 rubles (nominal worth) will receive annually, from the state, compensation equal to the interest on their notes. [The U. S. Treasury value of a ruble (1918) equals twelve cents in gold. Thus the value of 10,000 rubles equals $1,200.]

"Citizens possessing repudiated notes in excess of 10,000 rubles will receive no compensation for the repudiation of their papers."

"Deposits in state savings banks and interest on them are inviolable. All obligations on repudiated debts belonging to savings banks are convertible into debts (obligations) of the Russian Workers and Peasants Republic."

"Cooperative societies, local self-governing and other benefit or democratic institutions which have holdings in repudiated debts will continue to be indemnified, in accordance with the rules worked out by the Supreme Council of National Economy, together with the representatives of such institutions, provided it is proven that these obligations were acquired prior to the publication of this decree."

"All the work of liquidating these (State) loans is entrusted to the commissioners of the National Bank, and all holdings found in them will be confiscated by the National Bank as the property of the people. Note: The investigating commissions may, for weighty reasons, postpone the above liquidation."

Industry and Commerce:

Industrial establishments having been confiscated they are turned over to the workers who fix the hours, wages and otherwise regulate conditions of labor. The workers set the price upon their commodities, thus controlling the commercial relations of the people. It is a matter of common record that the former owners are compelled to act as directors of their sometime industrial plants, otherwise men capable of performing this work are not to be found. Here also, endless detail is set down for carrying out the provisions of this classless society. As an instance of the treatment meted out to foreign owners of capital we quote this decree of the Russian Socialist Republic which introduces the complete industrial slavery of all classes of workmen in the

Russo Belgian Metallurgical Company that had refused to subject themselves to the socialization of their capital under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The shafts, works, mines, all living and immovable property, on the lands of the Petrovky Metallurgical Works, the mines at Sofisk, Vyerovsk, Bungovsk, Narnevsk, also in Petrograd, as well as all other property of whatsoever description, regardless of its nature and present location in Russia or abroad, belonging to the Russo-Belgian Metallurgical Company, shall be confiscated, and declared the property of the Russian Republic.

"All office and technical assistants are obliged to remain at work for the discharge of their customary obligations.

"For irresponsible desertion from their positions or for sabotage, the guilty parties will be handed over to the revolutionary tribunals."

Foreign Trade:

"No private citizen of Russia is permitted to engage in foreign trade, since it is nationalized for the benefit of one class — the proletarians. 'The purchase and sale of products (raw materials, manufactures, agriculture, etc.) with foreign countries and private foreign commercial organizations are controlled directly by the Russian republic through specially organized organs. All foreign transactions not known to these organs are prohibited.'"

The Socialist world rejoices for the scheme laboriously worked out in the "Bible of the Working Class" which blasphemes Almighty God, cultivates treason and counsels robbery to the limit, is by the Russian dictatorship under Lenin-Trotsky put into practise by depriving

men of the exercise of their religious rights, by denying all but those at the lowest rung of the industrial and commercial ladder of their political franchise and by the wholesale confiscation of land and capital. No, certainly it was not by natural evolution but by forceful and bloody revolution that the change was brought about. But since their entire propaganda has ever been contradictory there is no possibility of holding them to their pronouncements, for if one will not work some other will. Marx had said so long ago as 1867 — in *Capital* — that the confiscation — the expropriation — of capital would come about like a law of nature. He foretold that an ever-growing oppression, slavery, misery, and degradation would be the lot of wage-earners; and simultaneously, because one great capitalist would send many employers down into the ranks of labor, the revolt of the working class would take place rather quietly since the "*Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. The integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated.*"

But quite the contrary is true for the economic data of the years since 1867 is sure proof that industrial development did not take place as Marx had predicted. The conditions of the working class improved while discontent in the hearts of those under Socialist influence grew: The middle class increased in number and financial power, relatively, yet many fell under the spell

of the materialist conception of history: The capitalists increased in numbers instead of devouring the larger half of their number, while not a few seemed utterly to forget that wealth is held in stewardship for their Master in Heaven. Thus it was that by a dwindling of religious light in all classes; by a lack of the knowledge of genuine science, that revolutionists were enabled to leap over the expected stages in evolution and take possession of government and capital by the power of might. This quick route is euphonistically termed by Engels and echoed by Lenin "a leap from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom." But justice makes the way of the transgressor hard! so the wholesale committing of sin, crime, debauch and lewdness enslaves together the innocent and the guilty in the sometime land of the Czars. But the end is not yet, the innocent suffer free from blame, praising God for their fire of purification while the penalty of guilt must be paid to the last jot and tittle.

Internationally, we see no signs of the abatement of the demand for the "expropriation of the expropriators." The Commissairs of Russian Foreign Affairs addressed a letter to President Wilson (Oct. 24, 1918) suggesting the fitness of E. V. Debs as president of the Socialist State that is coolly predicted to take the place of our own glorious and free nation. Not content with the impudence of this advice the letter suggests that the world be turned over to the principle of plunder:

"We propose that the League of Nations be based on the expropriation of the Capitalists of all nations."

The same thought dominates the mind of the American Socialists. In their call for the organization of a genuine revolutionary international it is proposed that representation be based upon a belief in the dictatorship of the proletariat as by carrying this belief into action there comes into their hands "the lever of immediate expropriation of Capital" (*N. Y. Call,* Mar. 20, 1919).

Let no man think that these millions of our populace who are privileged to vote may be dissuaded from their aim because of its being contrary to the Commandment against stealing or against coveting our neighbors goods. "Fudge! the decalogue again!" The pert counselor of the proletariat replies, have we not been persuaded at our schools, colleges and universities that the Rock of Ages has been blasted? Yet while chattering theories come and go and though sound judgment seems asleep upon the bench:

> "In vain we call old notions 'fudge,'
> And bend our conscience to our dealing;
> The Ten Commandments will not budge,
> And stealing will continue stealing."

There is no denying that the natural right of private property has been thoroughly established since God gave to Moses the Commandments; that it was enforced by our Blessed Lord throughout His ministry; that the Church has ever upheld the principle; that no civilization has ever been known where private ownership did not prevail. Even so, what should the Bolsheviki or the Mensheviki have to do with the law of God, the

rightful interpretation of history or the stricture of common sense? Surely, as doctrinaires — nothing. While members of the Constituent Assembly they forced through a declaration that "*the right of privately owned land within the boundaries of the Russian Republic is hereby abolished forever.*"

Since their philosophy deals only with things in time the word forever is logically outside the Socialists' vocabulary. The best judgments they have must be confined to a human nature infinitely inferior from what God gave to mankind, and confined to laws no better than the say-so of those leaders to whom they delegate authority. Besides it seems not to have occurred to these little gentlemen who have shifted upon their own puny shoulders omnipotent authority that this very decree leaves no room for the operation of their pet theory — Evolution. *Forever* is a word that takes its course up, down and beyond the boundaries of Russia or any other place that has been built in time wherein men dwell.

In his renowned encyclical — Rerum Novarum — issued twenty-eight years ago — Pope Leo XIII lays down the Catholic law of property. His Holiness condemns the basic proposal of Socialism that would abolish the use of private capital since rights given by God may not be denied or taken away without a violation of human nature itself; this were against the individual, the family and society. Hence it must be utterly rejected, since to declare private property abolished "forever" would most certainly injure those whom it is proposed to benefit:

"It is directly contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and would introduce confusion and disorder into the Commonwealth. The first and most fundamental principle, therefore, if one would undertake to alleviate the condition of the masses, must be the inviolability of private property."

The very opposite procedure from that taken by Bolshevist Russia to centralize all productive wealth under state control is required to fulfil the obligation of man to man and the "Workingman's Pope" states it clearly and simply —*"the great labor question cannot be solved save by assuming as a principle that private ownership must be held sacred and inviolable. The law, therefore, should favor ownership, and its policy should be to induce as many as possible of the humbler class to become owners."*

Absolutism in Labor:

It is rather trite to say that there never was a time in the history of the world when slave labor was unknown, but the attempt to set an entire nation at work under the conditions of slavery is something new to our day and generation. In private industry the last word in efficiency is known as the Taylor system, where the basic analysis of mechanical motion during work has led to a dismissal of superfluous notions and so reduced the expenditure of human energy to the minimum. This system is the model set before Soviet Russia for piece workers to follow; not under an employer for whom a man may work or not as he chooses, but under the compulsion of the proletarian dictator who has the Red Guard to back up his authority. In America in

a *state of freedom* it is one's private affair what work one engages in, but under the Soviets it is the most important national affair what work a man is set to do since the economy of the Socialist State wholly supplants the private rights and preferments of all the people. The grim humor of it is that this enslavement of the masses "opens the road for emulation on a really large scale." In the *Soviets at Work* Nikolai Lenin admits the immediate necessity for the complete "introduction of obligatory labor service." But reflecting upon the inherent difficulty of reducing men — even those who have long lived under the milder despotism of the Czar — to a complete state of industrial degradation the Bolshevist Republic orders that the system shall be introduced gradually and with "Caution." Evidently it is assumed that the loyalty of the proletariat to their dictator depends largely upon appeasing their wrath at the lot of "freedom" that has fallen to them and this is done by giving the order for "introducing first of all obligatory labor service *for the rich*" (p. 19). However, since labor control has been introduced in all the industries and commercial transactions possible as a "law of the soviets" the attendent difficulties admittedly call for: "*A merciless campaign against those who violate this control or who are careless with regard to control.*"

Thus, is the dream of the Socialist realized! The "wage-slavery" of the old régime is abolished by the introduction of a greater variety of ills, under a system of complete national slavery that admits of no redress save

that obtained by force. It is might against might striving in utter darkness, where right is unknown, certainly it is the penalty paid for following false gods: "I am the Good Shepherd, I know Mine and Mine know Me." Against the love and justice that characterizes right relations between the owner of capital and his brother freeman, who exercises his will to work at a specific task for a just wage, is this abnormal scheme for absolutism in labor:

"Our gains, our decrees, our laws, our plans must be secured by the solid forms of *every-day labor discipline.* This is the most difficult, but also the most promising problem for only its solution will give us Socialism. We must learn to combine the stormy, energetic, breaking of all restraint on the part of the toiling masses, with *iron discipline during work,* with *absolute submission* to the will of one person, the Soviet director, *during work.*"

"We have not yet learned this, but we will learn this."

(Soviets at Work.)

It gives us satisfaction and delight to present this excerpt from the Manual of Modern Scholastic Philosophy (pp. 288–289, Vol. 2) by that great Churchman and world-renowned patriot Cardinal Mercier in proof that the Good Shepherd gives light, scientific and moral to His own."

"To require the State to be the owner of all land and capital, to have the entire management of the production and distribution of wealth, to preside over all the functions of social life, like the brain over organic life, is surely, if logic counts for anything, to desire that the individual should ab-

dicate his own will and submit himself as completely as possible to the ruling of the State. Such a power and part cannot be given to the State without lessening in a proportionate degree the liberty of the citizen. Every collectivist who follows out his opinions to their logical conclusion must desire the effacement of the individual before the superior unit which is the community. If the State is the brain of the body politic, the individual is no more than a cell. A contradiction therefore exists between the collectivist ideal and the full ideal of liberty.

" . . . The orderly and permanent working of machinery so complicated as that of the collectivist State would require nothing short of a discipline of iron. The officials appointed to organize the national production would have to be given absolute powers. The assessment of the wants to be satisfied, and accordingly of the things to be made, the allotment of labor, the distribution of products, would all have to depend on the supreme will of the State."

Free Speech — Free Press

At first flush it seems that Socialists are truly in favor of the right to be heard by those who ought to listen, but this is not so. For there is no *ought* in all their philosophy,— no time when one ought to speak and no time when one ought to listen for the simple reason that to them morals are nothing more than the fashion in manners. Under the guarantees in our national constitution, that has guided us wisely and prosperously for more than seven generations, all our laws must have regard to the natural rights of all our citizens, and one of the nearest and dearest of these rights is what we know as free speech. Our right is to speak and to be heard, yet, within the limit of our human

constitution. If we put the issue immediately to the touchstone we shall see that our right and our power are quite two different things. We have, it is certain, the power to speak evil, but not the right to do so, since our existence is conditioned upon the absolute authority of Him who created us and gave to us the law we ought to obey. Here then lies the crux of the whole matter between those who truly believe in free speech and those who use the term for or against the moral obligation it implies as a mere method of furthering their cause on a given occasion. The fact is that free speech fights give to the Bolsheviki the best opportunity to persuade the multitude that they are persecuted for advocating what is good for the working-class. So whether it be a plea to get Debs out of jail or a resolve against the curtailing of free speech under the espionage act the effect of demanding the right to speak freely and to be heard without hindrance is all to their advantage in making Socialist converts, since it is one of the loudest demands of freemen. But this principle is to God-loving and God-fearing men an inherent right, bringing the obligation to listen or to speak as occasion demands. Not so with those who accept the philosophy of historic materialism, which makes of this principle and of all moral principles the mere fashion of the times — something useful to play upon in one case and something advantageous to suppress in another.

We make no apology for saying that within the organized Socialist movement the right of free speech has been constantly violated from the time of its first presi-

dential campaign. Just as we write comes a complaint from the *left-wing* — which is a large division of the Socialist Party:

"We are a very active and growing section of the Socialist Party who are attempting to reach the rank and file with our urgent message over the heads of the powers that be."

"The official Socialist Party press is in the main closed to us; therefore, we cannot adequately present our side of the case."

"Therefore we have decided to issue our Manifesto and program in pamphlet form, so that the rank and file may read and judge our case on its merits."

Simultaneously, while denying free speech within, the Socialist Party itself is arranging 5,000 public meetings in protest against the imprisonment of Eugene V. Debs and Kate Richards O'Hare on the ground that these persons had the "right to bear testimony to truth as they saw it." Having mistaken treason for truth does indeed prevent these orators from spreading their lurid vision abroad by word of mouth, but unhappily by pen they still advocate a classless society on the ruins of the private ownership of capital. Much to her surprise Mrs. O'Hare finds class distinctions even amongst her fellow-convicts in the Missouri State Penitentiary. If only she would look deep enough to see that God gives different talents in differing degrees to His children she might find the absurdity of what she seeks.

The Gospel injunction to do what they say but not

as they do, applies perfectly to the issue of free speech. *They say* that the Russian Bolsheviki believe that the press should be the expression of the people as well as the mouthpiece of the government. This is well, but what they *do* may be known by reading the Decree of the People's Commissaires, which forms a part of the Constitution of their new society. We quote:

"The Workers' and Peasants' Government wishes to call the attention of the people to the fact that behind the screen of liberty lurks, in fact, freedom for the propertied classes to usurp unto themselves the power, without hindrance, poison and bring confusion into the minds of the masses.

"Every one knows that the press of the bourgeoisie is one of the most powerful weapons of the bourgeoisie. Especially in a critical moment, when our power, the power of the workers and peasants, is only being strengthened, it is impossible to leave these weapons entirely in the hands of the enemy, at a time when they are not less dangerous than bombs and bullets. This is the reason why temporary and extraordinary measures were taken to cut off the stream of mud and slander of the yellow press which threatened to submerge the young victory of the people.

"1. The following organs of the press are subject to suppression:

"(a) Those calling for open opposition to and disobedience of the Workers' and Peasants' Government.

"(b) Those creating confusion by means of an open and slanderous distortion of facts.

"(c) Those calling for acts clearly criminal.

"2. Suppression of organs of the press, temporary or permanent, is to be dealt with through regulations of the Council of People's Commissaires.

"3. The present situation has a temporary character, and these measures will be changed upon the introduction of normal conditions of life.

"4. The printing of advertisements in periodicals and posters, as well as the issuing of advertisements to kiosks, offices, etc., is now a monopoly of the state."

That these decrees have been rigorously put into practise is the testimony of many, we present that of a close student of the Russian people and of the Bolsheviki régime — Prof. Lucovic H. Groudys of Dordrecht, Holland.

"There is less freedom of speech than under the Czar. Only Bolshevik papers are allowed. There is no freedom of speech whatever. Merely suspicion brings death at once."

Again, the inconsistency that marks the course of the international movement in all its dealings may be seen in a world event. While two millions of our boys were defending the honor of our flag on the fields of France and Flanders, the St. Louis Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party demanded the right for its spokesmen to talk treason at their pleasure on the pretext of defending free speech. Meantime, they were defending the Bolshevists for suppressing the voice of all opponents by confiscating their press and compelling their victims to run them in favor of the red rule which they abhorred.

To push the matter home to a final issue, would the erection of a "classless society" — a *Socialist State* permit of free speech? Not granting the possibility of

a classless society the answer is safely *no,* a Socialist State would necessarily be a condition of industrial slavery for the multitude with several classes of officers under a supreme dictator. What use should this usurper of natural rights have for free speech? Certainly *not any!*

Now that under the ægis of the Banner of Christ the people have at last arrived to that state of democracy that permits of the right to speak that which is right in the right time and in the right place the Socialist régime in Russia should send the mind of all liberty lovers back to the source from whence it came, that we may protect its source and so the expression of that dearly bought freedom. Under the title *Human Liberty* (1888) His Holiness Pope Leo XIII gave to the world a guide for the defense of free speech and a free press:

"We must now consider briefly *liberty of speech* and liberty of the Press. It is hardly necessary to say that there can be no such right as this, if it be not used in moderation, and if it pass beyond the bounds and end of all true liberty. For right is a moral power which — as we have before said and must again and again repeat — it is absurd to suppose that nature has accorded indifferently to truth and falsehood, to justice and injustice. Men have a right freely and prudently to propagate throughout the State what things soever are true and honorable, so that as many as possible may possess them; but lying opinions, than which no mental plague is greater, and vices which corrupt the heart and moral life, should be diligently repressed by public authority, lest they insidiously work the ruin of the State. The excesses of an

unbridled intellect, which unfailingly end in the oppression of the untutored multitude, are no less rightly controlled by the authority of the law than are the injuries inflicted by violence upon the weak. And this all the more surely, because by far the greater part of the community is either absolutely unable, or able only with great difficulty, to escape from illusions and deceitful subtleties, especially such as flatter the passions. If unbridled license of speech and of writing be granted to all, nothing will remain sacred and inviolate; even the highest and truest mandates of nature, justly held to be the common and noblest heritage of the human race, will not be spared. Thus, truth being gradually obscured by darkness, pernicious and manifold error, as too often happens, will easily prevail. Thus, too, license will gain what liberty loses; for liberty will ever be more free and secure, in proportion as license is kept in fuller restraint. In regard, however, to all matters of opinion which God leaves to man's free discussion, full liberty of thought and of speech is naturally within the right of every one; for such liberty never leads men to suppress the truth, but often to discover it and make it known."

Marital Relationship

Now that the doctrine of Marx and Engels, relative to the family, has been enacted into law by "the abolition of private possession of women" and the "socialization of women," and thence into practise, the ire of decent people is aroused and the propaganda of Socialism is for the nonce staggering to regain its foothold within the body politic. Not a few within their own ranks have recoiled from the consequences of their doctrine in practise. Yet one must expect that two atti-

tudes, diametrically opposed, will be taken at once by the American Bolshevists in furtherance of their objective — world revolution. This is no new experience for them and hypocrisy is the fine art of their statescraft.

It was vigorously practised upon our late Ex-President, Theodore Roosevelt, not long since. Colonel Roosevelt had exposed their attitude on the family which may be found in every one of their classics dealing with the subject, but nowhere stated with more elemental frankness than in *Socialism and the Family* by H. G. Wells. We present an excerpt to refresh the mind of our reader upon the issue:

"The Socialist would put an end to the uncivilized go-as-you-please of the private adventure family. Socialism, in fact, is the State family. The old family of the private individual must vanish before it just as the old water works of private enterprise, or as the old gas company. Socialism assails the triumphant egotism of the family to-day . . ." (pp. 31, 32).

"Now, what sort of contract will the Socialist State require for marriage? — Socialism says boldly the State is the over-parent, the outer-parent. People (under Socialism) rear children for the State and the future; if they do that well, they do the whole world a service, and deserve payment just as much as if they built a bridge or raised a crop of wheat; if they do it unpropitiously and ill, they have done the world an injury . . .

"It follows that motherhood, which we still in a muddle-headed way seem to regard as partly self-indulgence and partly a service paid to a man by a woman, is regarded by

the Socialists as a benefit to society, a public duty done. The State will pay for children born legitimately in the marriage it will sanction" (p. 64).

Against the State as the over-parent and motherhood as a trade Colonel Roosevelt's articles in *The Outlook* had directed attention to the necessity for maintaining the Christian family that civilization might not perish from the face of the earth. From all over our country the Bolsheviki came back at him in editorials, articles, leaflets and speeches. No, not with argument showing any other possible conclusion than that the family must *die out* once it is deprived of its natural support, namely, private property. But rather with abuse, for Roosevelt's well known integrity had added great weight to his words that had struck a blow at their propaganda.

Eugene V. Debs said it was "sickening and disgusting hypocrisy" on the part of Roosevelt to publish such "lies." Milwaukee's Mayor, Emile Seidel, declared it to be "claptrap utterance" published "with a cunning and deliberate purpose of creating a false impression." While Prof. A. W. Small of Chicago University, who may not be supposed a teacher of free love, was reported as declaring "Roosevelt's idea of the family is funny." The *Chicago Daily Socialist* named the author "Cockroach Teddy," and the *New York Call* was convinced that Roosevelt "depended upon the spiteful scandal published by David Goldstein and Martha Moore Avery" for his "mass of foul lies" and his "abyss of filth and falsehood." Yet more than all of what was set forth by Colonel Roosevelt may be found in their classical

literature on the subject and in the conduct of some of their international leaders, never one of these doctrines nor one of these leaders were ever discredited by their organization for betraying the standards of the Decalogue intelligently or morally. Surely, it is not to be supposed that those who so rabidly assailed Colonel Roosevelt are innocently ignorant of their long preached doctrine; now carried out in Russia by making the union and discussion of the sexes a mere matter of registration. One must conclude that those who spread evil are doubled-tongued. This, too, is certain that the fall from Christian civilization is lower than the state of the ancient Pagans. The *private possession* of women and *property* in children may somewhat fittingly belong to the speech of those who have never known Jesus Christ and His Blessed Mother but never the degraded animalism that lies back of the twin evils, birth-control and motherhood as a trade. The "*over-parent,*" the breeding of children for the state, prepares the way, intellectually, for the action of the Soviet Council of Saratov in commandeering women for social use. Indeed this was the logical outcome, since from first to last not a doctrinaire amongst them but holds with Havelock Ellis that "the reproduction of the race is a social function."

The facts in the case were presented to the Senate Committee investigating Bolshevism by Rev. R. E. Simmons, the Methodist Episcopal minister, who formerly represented the Department of Commerce in Russia. Several other places followed the bestial example of

Saratov, Luge, Kolpin, Vladimir, Hovlinsk, Kronstadt among them. Saratov has a population of some 200,000 persons which by the decree of the Council — March 15, 1918 — was practically reduced to a herd of cattle with a ranchman to enforce his will over them. The assurance that these vile doctrines were really put into practise so shocked the sense of public decency that the boldest proponents were silenced for the time and the doubled-tongued propagandists sent up a howl of protest. But their cry "Stop, thief!" has been too often heard to throw steady folk off their guard. However, it seems rather opportune to state that our challenge on this issue, first sent out in 1903 and again in 1916, having been signed and sworn to before a Notary Public, the original sent to the National Secretary of the Socialist Party, is yet awaiting a response, despite the fact that our challenge was published in hundreds of papers throughout the country. Since its argument rests upon scientific rather than upon sentimental or moral ground we present it here:

AN UNACCEPTED CHALLENGE

Boston, Massachusetts,
468 Mass. Avenue
November 16, 1916.

National Office Socialist Party,
Mr. Adolph Germer, Secretary,
Chicago, Illinois.

DEAR SIR: Our association with the Socialist movement and our study of its doctrines, as set forth by its foremost exponents, have firmly convinced us that Socialism is funda-

mentally hostile to the basic principles of Christian belief. Consequently no one can consistently accept the doctrines of the Socialist movement and those of the Christian Church at one and the same time.

In our travels from city to city, lecturing under the auspices of Catholic societies, we frequently meet members of your organization, who, through ignorance of the philosophical foundation of their party, or by their politic use of the Socialist now-you-see-it-and-now-you-don't-tactics have taken issue with us. They have gone so far as to say that our exposé of Socialism is false; that Socialism is in fact the further development of Christian principles rather than a divergence from them.

In order that this most vital issue may be made plain — in order that the line of demarkation that logically exists between Socialism and Christianity may be clearly defined to the satisfaction of those who may be in doubt, we respectfully submit a proposal that this matter be tested out on this one phase of Socialism — the family.

We shall present evidence to prove the following contentions before a competent committee to be decided upon by you and by ourselves at any date that may be mutually satisfactory.

1st. That Socialism assumes private property to have brought into existence the present form of the family — the monogamic family — one man, one wife and their children.

2nd. That the Socialist theory of the present family assumes it to have evolved from the time when men and women lived in a state of promiscuity — when "all the women (in a tribe) belonged to all the men and all the men to all the women."

We hold that the Socialist theory regarding the family rests upon these two propositions and that they are diametrically opposed to historic testimony and Christian teachings.

It is a fact universally acknowledged that Christianity

recognizes that Almighty God established monogamy when He created our first parents; when He declared: "For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they shall be two in one flesh." Our contention is that the evidence of the world's greatest ethnological authorities sustains the Christian doctrine that monogamy existed in the earliest known days of the race. That the investigations of these scientists prove that there is no evidence extant to substantiate the Socialist notion that promiscuity ever formed a general stage in the history of the human race. Their express understanding is that the race never could have outlived the degenerate condition of conjugal association from which Socialism assumes the family to have evolved.

We hold that Socialism stands for loose marital association —"an association terminable at the will of either party"— thus doing away with the "interference" of a third party"— the Church or State. This is diametrically opposed to the Christian law which declares that a marriage once entered into and consummated is binding until death. Moreover an association terminable at will is contrary to the civic law which presumes marriage to be a life contract, subjecting the parties to the contract to its restraints, notwithstanding that the State has, since the days of the "French conflagration," permitted divorce.

We shall present as evidence in proof of these fundamental differences (on the Christian side) the writings in the New Testament, the Catholic Encyclopedia, the proceedings of the Council of Trent, and the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on Christian Marriage; also some writings of leading Protestant Doctors. On the Socialist side we shall substantiate the indictment we bring with the writings of Morgan, Engels, Marx, Bebel, Bax, Morris, Rappaport, Meily and other recognized Socialist authorities whose writings on the family are cir-

culated by Socialist organizations, not alone in this country, but throughout the world. We hold, with your International Representative, Mr. Morris Hillquit, that "the utterances and acts of such writers and representatives, unless formally repudiated by their party, must be considered as legitimate expressions and manifestations of the Socialist movement, and its defenders and opponents may properly refer to them in support of their contentions."

As an evidence of our good faith we have placed on deposit with the Federal Trust Company of Boston, the sum of one thousand dollars to be forfeited to the Red Cross Society in the event that the differences herein set forth are not proved to be fundamental to Socialism and to Christianity and that as a logical consequence no one can be adjudged an intelligent Christian and at one and the same time consistently support Socialism.

No, they will not answer. They dare not answer. To answer before an audience not wholly or in part indoctrinated with their *point of view* would retard their progress and that is the one thing not to be deliberately tolerated,— the one thing that their notion of morality will not permit. Rather the public mind is to be led off the scent, brazenly by giving the "lie" and cleverly by an easy remark: "There is no need to get excited over it," even though a "little remote group of Anarchists in Odessa" did issue a decree socializing women. However severe it may seem the fact is the common-sense of those, especially the women, who really hold the Marxian view of marital relations are not resilient to the moral law. Otherwise the defense by Louise Bryant of what is indefensible could not take

place before an inquiring audience of 3,000 in Tremont Temple, Boston (Jan. 3, 1919). We quote:

"Russia is the only country in the world where they have solved the prostitution problem. When a woman expects to be a mother she is given two months' rest with pay — that is one of the things the Soviets did — and in Russia they do not make any distinction between married and unmarried mothers."

This is only one of the thousands of statements made by men and women who have been *emancipated along the Socialist way,* as Prof. George D. Herron puts it. Yet, we are glad to learn that so loud is the protest from within and from without stricken Russia that the Commisar of Vladimir has appointed a committee of women to revise, or to report as to the advisability of abrogating, the decree.

All-Russian Constitution on Divorce

With the stroke of the pen Bolshevism puts asunder those whom God joined together. We quote:

Decree on Divorce Issued by the Council of People's Commissaries

"The Russian Republic from now on recognizes civil marriages only.

"Persons, desiring to enter into marriage, announce their intention verbally or in written form to the Department for Registration of Marriages and births."

"Divorce shall be granted upon application made by either party or both parties.

"Divorce applications shall be filed with the local courts. When application is made by mutual consent of both parties

divorce shall be granted immediately by the registry office where marriage records are kept, and said office shall deliver to both parties a certificate testifying thereto.

"When divorce is granted to parties declaring mutual consent, the two parties shall file a statement declaring the names by which they and their children, if any, shall be known in the future. When divorce is granted upon application by one party only, the divorced parties shall, provided they agree thereto, bear the names they bore before contracting marriage, and the judge shall decide what name the children shall bear. In case of disagreement, the final decision shall rest with the local jury."

Even this license — marriage and divorce as a mere matter of registration — is regarded only as the threshold of a yet wider latitude. Bessie Beatty points out *(Red Heart of Russia)* that the *"All-Russian decree regulating the lives of the people incline towards wide freedom."* Evidently this inclination towards "wide freedom" has reached its uttermost limit in the stark mad decrees of Saratov and the other Soviets that have socialized women. Yet the Russian régime of lust was upheld by the 700 delegates at the *Woman's Freedom Congress* in New York City (March 1, 1919), when its Chairman, Crystal Eastman, proclaimed that the day of a like society is long overdue in our own country. *"We will not wait for the Social Revolution to bring us the freedom we should have won in the 19th Century. Voluntary motherhood is an ideal unrealized in this country. Women are still denied by law the right to that scientific knowledge necessary to control the size of their families."*

This was not an isolated utterance, but the tone of the Congress, for Anna Strunsky Walling was championed as she sang its praises and proclaimed herself to be a "romatic monogamist." These are the women who are making public opinion, who delight in spreading the information that in Russia "*divorce is as easy to get as a cup of tea,*" and in following up this racy bit with the supposedly unanswerable argument that makes lewdness to be freedom: "*Just before the vote on this decree one soldier arose and said that he thought the government should limit the number of divorces to three. Another soldier got up and denounced him, saying, 'Why should we, who believe in freedom, tell any man how many times he should wed?' So the discussion was dropped.*" (Louise Bryant "Six Months in Russia.")

It is with a sense of deepest shame that we are forced to recognize altogether too much truth in what the *Newark Leader,* Socialist weekly (March 15, 1919), says editorially as to our status relative to divorce:

"The marriage laws of the Russian Republic differs from ours only in refusing to recognize the validity of a religious ceremony and allowing divorce at the will of the parties instead of after one of our lewd and sickening divorce trials."

Truly, many others besides Catholics who hold to the Christian law of marriage may say this is not of our doing and that we know that in the last analysis this issue lies between the Church and Bolshevism for the reason that there is no middle ground upon which the power of reason may take its stand. This is but another

way of saying that the acid test of the freedom of the sexes is within the law of Christ, not without, under the license of Bolshevism, whether partially restrained or left wholly without the curb of human intelligence and will, as in the case of Saratov.

All this were worse than useless if it were not for the hope — aye, the expectation — that those American women who hold strictly to the conviction that *Marriage is a Sacrament,* because God made it so, will come to the rescue here in our own land against this scourge of so-called sex freedom. For it may not be successfully denied that the responsibility for the preservation of the family, and so of the nation, rests largely upon the attitude of women. Our statistics on divorce place us second only to Pagan Japan with a stride towards the Bolshevist decree that is mentally staggering — too appalling for speech. By almost complete returns the total number of divorces granted in the United States in 1916 was 112,036, or 112 per 100,000 of the population, as against 84 in 1906, 73 in 1900 and 53 in 1890.

Moreover, Judge Robert Grant has brought out the significant fact that 75 per cent of proceedings for divorce are initiated by women. Surely the patient Griseldas who by self-sacrifice gave an heroic example of the sanctification of the marriage bond are much needed to-day to set the world right. This were at once a suffering for Christ's sake that brings its reward of glory eternal and a display of patriotism that is high above personal consideration. Surely, women are now

commissioned by right-reason to lead men back to the knowledge that their worldly wisdom in setting up the divorce court for the protection of women has led to the exact opposite effect from what they destined to obtain. What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.

World Revolution

Their first great conquest in Russia has given an incalculable impetus to their contemplated overthrow of national boundaries with the complete abolition of private property and so the extinction of the monogamic family, carrying with it the notion of a super-state directing the industries of the world, for use not for profit. At first glance this scheme seems like an inverted model of human society as it is, but there is a difference not to be measured in words. In the world as it is, there is a spiritual order and a material order through which the life principle acts. Now Marx himself says that his "scientific analysis" is an inverted form of Hegelianism, he is correct. One is the top of Pantheism, the other is the bottom; and both together do not make human nature as it is. Hegel has material substance a precipitation from the etheric sphere and Marx has material substance, the cause of all else within the sphere of what is human. So it is that God is nowhere in Hegelian or Marxian philosophy. Yet the truth is that within God's providence, nations and families work out their destinies in time, but individuals have an eternal destiny that time knows not. Socialism drops out

the human constitution made by God and substitutes a material régime made by man.

From the four quarters of the globe comes the propaganda for an all-perfect society, for the time when mankind shall have evolved into superman because of economic equity. A battle cry for *world-revolution* forms the closing words of the Russian Constitution — *Declaration* of Rights and *Duties* for *Toiling Humanity:*

"The Russian Socialist Republic of the Soviets calls upon the working classes of the entire world to accomplish their task to the very end, and in the faith that the Socialist ideal will soon be achieved to write upon their flags the old battle cry of the working people.

"Proletarians of all lands unite!
Long live the Socialist world revolution!"

The means proposed to this end are characteristic. We quote from the Constitution adopted at the 5th All-Russian Congress (July 10, 1918):

"Being guided by the interests of the working class as a whole, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic deprives all individuals and groups of rights which could be utilized by them to the detriment of the Socialist Revolution."

Thus coolly are rights set to one side by this egoistic scheme made by men in disregard of the constitution made for men by God. The universal betrayal of "rights" is emphasized by the head of the Moscow Soviet, N. Bucharin, when writing of the Program of the Communist Party (1918):

"It is the program of the liberation of the proletariat of all countries, because it is the program of international revolution. The overthrow of imperialist governments by means of armed revolt is the road to the international dictatorship of the working class."

It is a notion pretty firmly fixed that world revolution against the capitalist class must take place before a national revolution against private property is secure. Of course, this notion is well grounded, since by the rational animal common-sense is a hard thing to get rid of, entirely. In his introduction to Trotsky's book — "The Bolsheviki and World Peace" (N. Y., 1918) — Lincoln Steffens suggests the ridiculous as the logical: "*To Trotsky the Russian Revolution is but one, the first of a series of national revolutions which together will become the thing he yearns for and prophesies.*"

So also yearns Lenin. He takes himself seriously as interpreter of developing events. If only this thing — the complete abrogation of the natural law — would hurry up and usher in the classless society before his funny dictatorship on earth is over:

"An unusually grave, difficult and dangerous international situation exists, a period of waiting for new outbursts of revolution in the West, which is painfully slow in ripening." ("Soviets at Work," p. 42, Rand School, N. Y., 1918.)

With empiric disdain of human nature as it is under the control of an all wise Providence and guided by inane desire to show Marx as the latest and the greatest of all who dip into the future, in a letter to the American

Workingmen sent from Moscow (Aug. 2, 1918) Lenin gives the history of things to be:

"We know that it may take a long time before help can come from you, comrades, American Workingmen, for the development of the revolution in the different countries proceeds along various paths, with varying rapidity (how should it be otherwise!). We know full well that the outbreak of the European proletarian revolution may take many weeks to come, quickly as it is ripening in these days. We are counting on the inevitability of the international revolution.

"We are in a beleaguered fortress, so long as no other international socialist revolution comes to our assistance with its armies. But these armies exist, they are stronger than ours, they grow, they strive, they become more invincible the longer imperialism with its brutalities continues. Workingmen the world over are breaking with their betrayers, with their Gompers and their Scheidemanns. Inevitably labor is approaching communistic Bolshevistic tactics, is preparing for the proletarian revolution that alone is capable of preserving culture and humanity from destruction. We are invincible. The proletarian Revolution is invincible."

The Bolsheviki of other countries are also as confident that the hour is struck for a world reckoning. Mayhap, this is so, but no solid argument can be found in reason, science or history for the conclusion that this reckoning is between wage-earners and capitalists to the extinction of industrial, commercial, social and intellectual distinctions. Rather is the reckoning between the just and the unjust, between those who worship the golden calf, be they rich or poor and between those who worship God,

be they rich or poor. Thanks be to God! man is not the Judge of the issue. However, the Swiss Social Democratic Party speeds on the bloody cry: "We greet the Russian revolution, and take up the battle cry of the Russian and German revolutionists, calling the proletariat to the world revolution" (Swiss Socialist Convention, Jan., 1919).

The Italian Socialist Party, too, proudly takes its part in world revolution. Not merely by resolutions declaring for "the establishment of a Socialist Republic and the dictatorship of the proletariat" (Dec. 12, 1918) but also by acting up to their party vote "not to join in homage to the representative of the United States." Just as in Massachusetts some fifteen years ago one lone Socialist seat was vacant when Prince Henry of Germany visited its Great and General Court so now when President Wilson entered the Chamber of Deputies upon his recent visit to Rome, the forty seats of the Socialist Representatives were vacant. Yes, it may confidently be predicted that the Bolsheviki will be Bolsheviki to the end of their tether.

Our reds are not less luridly red than those across the water, from crown to sole they are Bolshevik and proud to say so with their self-succeeding presidential candidate; with hundreds of thousands of phrases they echo their party's voice "*The Social Revolution is the end and aim of the Socialist Party.*" That it is utterly impossible to comprehend the movement unless one realizes that the urge of the *social revolution* is not nation-

wide only but without limit embracing "the wide-wide-world." So the all-hail is given to the Russian Soviet as the beginning of the much desired end by the official organ of the Socialist Party:

"Russia's revolution is not a domestic revolution, but essentially a world revolution. Therein lies not only its future, but also its present, inasmuch as it is impossible to understand our parties and their principles unless one realizes the sharp division between those men who see the revolution as a world-event and those who see it merely as a local and Russian event.

"The difference between the Bolsheviki and all the other Russian parties lies herein. The Bolsheviki are the true internationalists. They alone desire to see the revolution's ideas spread throughout the world." (The *Eye Opener,* Chicago, Feb. 16, 1918.)

Their banners decorated with mottoes foreign to Americanism are carried through the streets of our cities and towns, loudly proclaiming:

"Save the Soviets! Next: The Socialists United States of the World."

"Bolsheviki Forever."

"Long live the Socialist Revolution."

"Three Cheers for the German Worker's Republic."

"Lenin and Liebknecht."

While congratulating cablegrams were sent in recognition of the Russian-German revolt as a part of their world-program; one from Boston to Berlin we exhibit:

"Greetings and pledge of solidarity on this day of your

proletarian revolution, which will conquer, in spite of all. Revolutionary Russia and a definitely proletarian revolution in Germany are a call to action to the international proletariat." (Nov. 17, 1918.)

In its issue of May 1, 1919, the *New York Call* flares forth a two column *International May-Day Manifesto of Revolt* addressed particularly to the workers of the world:

"The world revolution, dreamed of as a thing of the distant future, has become a live reality,—it has taken form, it strikes forward, borne by the despair of the masses and the shining examples of the martyrs, its spread is irrepressible. The bridges are burnt behind the old capitalist society and its path is forever cut off. Capitalist society is bankrupt, and the only salvation of humanity lies in the uprising of the masses, in the victory of the Socialist revolution, in the renovating forces of Socialism."

"Long live Socialism! Long live the Socialist world revolution" echoed throughout the country by the hoarse cry of the masses in the streets and the cultivated tones of the classes in the halls of our cities. To the delight of the audience that filled Century Theater, of New York City (April 25, 1919), Prof. Scott Nearing lisped that as "*against the proposal of a League of Nations, I suggest revolution.*" At the same time unctuously pronouncing himself a "pacifist."

With the experience of the Russian revolution of 1905 to guide his thought Alexander Trachtenberg, director of the Rand School Department of Research, address to the celebrants of the anniversary of the Rus-

sian revolution (March 16, 1919) who crowded the Auditorium to the doors, was in strict accord with his fellows:

"Before the Russian revolution, Socialism had of necessity to be academic in its interest, it was not yet a living thing." But to-day, "it is not merely the Russian revolution, as such, that we are interested in, but all forward looking men in every land see in it the guide and model of what their own revolution is to be, and who shall be wise if we learn from these pioneers."

Besides the prose written and spoken volumes of verse might be compiled from the product of those gifted with poesy who are engulfed in the maelstrom of destructible imagination. This from Lillian Brown-Olf shall suffice:

Lusty Child of Revolution!
Unperturbed by Custom's pall;
Dauntless Spirit of Rebellion,
Claim the world and conquer all!

PROPHECY

Not alone those first in power and influence but many second-rate men have gravely set the date for world-revolution. Marx, Engels, Bebel and De Leon definitely fixed the time when economic evolution should climax with revolution, like as Jupiter sprang from Saturn full armed into mortal ken so should Socialism be delivered from the womb of Capitalism. But one after another of these exceptionally gifted men passed off

this physical globe long after the dates they set were left behind in old calendars. Alas, that false theories should distort the human mind, so turn the heart against its Maker, alas that the human will should revel in rebellion!

The novelists add greatly to the expectation of the time when after the deluge of blood "all shall be better than well." In his "Iron Heel," Jack London sets off a bomb on the floor of Congress as the signal for the Commune of Chicago in 1918, that should make pale the Paris Commune in bloodshed, blasphemy, terror and plunder. London's prediction was up too early; so also Upton Sinclair's date is out of date. Sinclair's *Industrial Republic* gives a study of America ten years hence when the proletariat clapped the oligarchy in jail so easily that "Uptie" thought it "*a charmingly simple process — I could do it all myself.*" Yet America is thought by many of the prophets to be a hard nut to crack. Even in a dream Louise Bryant makes it one hundred years before the long suffering comrades of Russia and elsewhere may welcome American proletarians to the world society. *The revolution* had the fight of its life since there were forty-eight kings of our forty-eight states to dethrone and to send together with the entire capitalist class to the bow-wows. To send packing one Czar was easy, but getting rid of forty-eight takes a long time.

However ridiculous the notion of a one-class society may be a prophecy regarding it is a sure way of arousing the ardor of those who have a will to power and for

those who have lost hope in the toil and sweat of the day. The time is but near enough to be in easy reach of the imagination of most ordinary minds. Lenin has now set it fifteen years hence, and it is being soberly discussed in their press and from their platform. Revolution realized is surely a *thing* not to happen in a day. Albert Rhys Williams opines: "We have entered upon an era of wars that will last fifteen years — wars and the social revolution." (*Liberator,* N. Y., Dec., 1918). The *World,* Oakland, Calif., Dec. 20, 1918) has been by newspaper science won over to the side of Lenin:

"The aftermath of the great war just now in its closing agonies is an international Social Revolution and 'it will last for fifteen years,' is the prediction of Lenin of Russia. At first we doubted the correctness of this assertion, but after looking over the newspapers the past week we have about come to an agreement with Lenin."

We have not the slightest delusion with regard to a classless society since our confidence is implicitly placed in the economic relations set down in the Decalogue that are so freely and so fully extended, expanded and elevated in principle by our Blessed Lord in His parables and prophecies. But since wars and rumors of wars are the result of disobedience to the will of Almighty God and since disobedience seems to be waxing with the many and waning with the few there can be little or no hope for peace until such time as rulers are ready to put their confidence in the Holy Father and ask Him

to adjust their differences according to the love and law of human constitution.

Violence

To take and hold private capital by physical force has been their intention ever since the *Communist Manifesto* (1848) was accepted as their creed by the Socialists-Communists-Bolshevists of all countries. We quote:

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing socil conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

At the Hague International Socialist Congress Marx pointed out the violence of the Paris Commune (1871) as typical of what should be expected:

"In most countries of Europe violence must be the lever of our social reform. We must finally have recourse to violence in order to establish the rule of labor. . . . The revolution must be universal, and we find a conspicuous example in the Commune of Paris, which has failed because in other capitals — Berlin and Madrid — a simultaneous revolutionary movement did not break out in connection with this mighty upheaval of the proletariat of Paris."

August Bebel second in intellectual rank only to the writers of the Communist Manifesto enlarges upon the necessity for physical violence and quotes Marx to enforce his authority:

"We must not shudder at the thought of the possible employment of violence; we must not raise an alarm cry at the suppression of 'existing rights,' at violent expropriation, etc. History teaches us that at all times new ideas, as a rule, were realized by a violent conflict with the defenders of the past, and that the combatants for new ideas struck blows as deadly as possible at the defenders of antiquity. Not without reason does Karl Marx in his work on 'Capital' exclaim:

"'Violence is the obstetrician that waits on every ancient society that is to give birth to a new one; violence is itself a social factor.'"

The Socialist revolt in Paris 1871; in Barcelona 1909; in Russia 1917; in Berlin 1918; in Hungary 1919; together with numerous attempts to instigate revolt in other countries should be proof positive that its obstetricians do not expect peace at the birth of their free society. This is indeed simple — the tooth and claw philosophy permits the fittest to survive merely because they have been able to devour those who would have eaten them. Robert Rives La Monte states their philosophy fully, though he has not been able to rid himself of the word *moral* as have those more expert in using terms properly belonging to the materialist conception of history:

"As fast as they (the proletariat) become class-conscious they will recognize and praise as moral all conduct that tends to hasten the social revolution — the triumph of their class, and they will condemn as unhesitatingly as immoral all conduct what tends to prolong the dominance of the capitalist class." ("Socialism, Positive and Negative.")

This from Charles H. Kerr ("What to Read on Socialism") Editor of the *International Socialist Review* is cast in language "scientific":

"As to the means by which the capitalist class is to be overthrown, the real question worth considering is what means will prove most effective — if on the other hand the working class could gain power by taking up arms,— why not?"

John Spargo has done not a little to prepare the Socialist mind for violence:

"I am not opposed to sabotage because of any love of law and order, or because of any regard for the rights of property. . . . If the class to which I belong could be set free from exploitation by violation of the laws made by the master class, by open rebellion, by seizing the property of the rich, or setting the torch to a few buildings, or by the summary execution of a few members of the possessing class, I hope that the courage to share in the work should be mine. I should pray for the courage and hardness of heart necessary." ("Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism and Socialism," pp. 172, 173.)

Mayhap, the gentle John who, happily, is not so red as he was, though still incapable of separating "tother from which," would not now so strictly defend violence up to murder. At any rate the fear of consequence weakened the lusty arm of the proletariat at their party convention of 1912, for they adopted a provision barring from membership advocates of sabotage. But in 1917, when the world-war was on, this timid resolve was by unanimous vote stricken from the Socialist Party

constitution. Is there any other logical conclusion than that violence, petty violence, is a means to be employed by these class-conscious folk who vote that they may one day stab the State in the back with its own sword?

Ex-Congressman Victor L. Berger has played a great part in putting the idea of bullets in the heads of red-flaggers. Under the caption *Should Be Prepared to Fight for Liberty at all Hazards* was published a bold incitement to violence in the *Social Democratic Herald* (Milwaukee, July 31, 1909). It was re-published in nearly all the Socialist papers in the United States and Canada:

"In view of the plutocratic law-making of the present day, it is easy to predict that the safety and hope of this country will finally lie in *one direction* only — that of a violent and bloody revolution.

"Therefore, I say, each of the 500,000 Socialist voters, and of the two million workingmen who instinctively incline our way, should, besides doing much reading and still more thinking, also have a good rifle and the necessary rounds of ammunition in his home and be prepared to back up his ballot with his bullets if necessary."

Mr. Berger sees in militarism a means of putting guns into the hands of the working class; since their "emancipation" can hardly be brought about by speeches and pamphlets: *"The capitalist class will not abdicate as easily as all that"—"When it comes to shooting, Wisconsin will be there."*

In the meantime the spirit of violence waxes strong amongst the cultivated Bolshevists. Bross Lloyd, a

Chicago millionaire, addressing a meeting in Milwaukee City Auditorium (Sunday, June 12, 1919) in protest against the arrest and conviction of Victor L. Berger and other national officials of their party for treasonable conduct is reported to have given this wild advice to the multitude assembled:

"You want to organize so that if you want every working man in Milwaukee at a certain place at a certain time with a bad egg and a rifle in his hand, you can have it. You want to get dynamite and machine guns. Have men with dynamite to blow up the banks. Have all this ready. The capitalists' organs tell us if you have this ready, you won't have to use it. Be a Bolshevist, and a Bolshevist in short is a man who don't give a damn whether school keeps or not, so long as the revolution goes on."

Coolly imagine the effect of this intense excitement, nation-wide, breaking out into deeds when the Bolshevists shall attempt the lockout of the capitalist class and insist with physical force that all but those who work for wages shall abdicate their political rights and permit the dictator of the proletariat to rule? But if they resist —"*Remember!*"

"Socialists have profited by the history of the French Revolution of 1792, the German and French crisis of 1848, and the Paris Commune of 1871." (Ernest Unterman, *Int. Socialist Review,* Vol. 1, No. 7.)

Certainly, we should realize that violence is looked to as a matter of course in the transition period from capitalism to that impossible thing a one-class society.

The *Class Struggle* (Dec., 1918, p. 623) bemoans the backwardness of the Bolsheviki in our country. They have not taken advantage of the opportunity consequent upon the indictments against their leaders to arise to the "*glorious example*" of Frederich Alder who assassinated the Austrian Prime Minister in September, 1916. The writer of this editorial — Mr. Ludwig Lore — plays a prominent part in promoting the spirit of violence. He was loudly applauded by 3,000 persons assembled at Hunt's Point, N. Y. (April 2, 1919) when he said: "*Bolshevism is nothing more than Revolutionary Socialism. Revolution here may be impossible now, but revolution may be possible to-morrow.*"

Mr. Debs has emitted fire and blood for many years. So violent were his threats and his calls for vengeance if the Court should convict his friend Haywood for the murder of Ex-Gov. Stunenberg that Mr. Haywood's lawyer warned the "Genial Gene" to keep quiet and not to come to Boise or "Big Bill" would slip the noose. One of the very many of Mr. Debs' lurid appeals for violence was in 1906. Under the title "Rise, Ye Slaves" he urged a million men to take up arms for "*we have got to fight. If murder must be committed it is not the working class alone that will furnish the victims this time.*"

The postal authorities of Canada wisely confiscated the *Appeal to Reason* containing this appeal to violence, although it was permitted to circulate broadcast in our own country.

From Moscow (Aug. 20, 1918) the Premier of Rus-

sia sent a *Message to the American Workers.* He recalls with pride the words of Eugene V. Debs in an article entitled *"Why Should I Fight."* In the name of his Soviet Republic, Lenin protests against the brutality of our government for convicting Debs of treasonable utterances, but he reflects: *"Let them brutalize true internationalists, the real representatives of the revolutionary proletariat. The greater the bitterness and brutality they show, the nearer the day of the victorious proletarian revolution."*

Lenin pays especial tribute to Debs for his inspiring attempts to arouse the masses to resist war with treason. We quote passages culled from Debs' speech in approval of the attitude of the Stuttgart International Congress:

"If I were in Congress I would be shot before I would vote a dollar for such a war.

"I have no country to fight for; my country is the earth; I am a citizen of the world.

"I am not a capitalist soldier; I am a proletarian revolutionist.

"I am opposed to every war but one; I am for that war with heart and soul, and that is the world-wide war of the social revolution. In that war I am prepared to fight in any way the ruling class may make necessary, even to the barricades."

No, they see no hope of even softening the fight to the finish by an appeal to religion. Socialist leaders are convinced materialists; they have persuaded their followers to discredit the motives of those who defend the

honor and glory of God. We quote from Delegate John W. Slayton (Proceedings National Convention, Socialist Party, Chicago 1908, p. 202).

"If I had a congregation, and could make them believe that they who were producing the wealth of the world were in the situation in life that the Almighty Creator intended that they should be, do you suppose for a moment they would get up and resist the conditions they found themselves in? No, wouldn't they be perfectly satisfied, and couldn't my exploitation go on, and could I not lead them, even with their consent, if they believed they were occupying the position they were destined to fill? It stifles revolt. A man ceases to be a rebel and becomes like a young robin, willing to accept anything the old bird brings, whether worms or shingle nails."

Yet there are those who look upon Socialists as much abused lovers of economic justice; who by peaceful means are trying to persuade us to accept what is good for us all. But it is certain that such do not know the malice in which the movement was conceived, the unreason on which it is founded nor the temper of those who attempt to force their will against things truly human and divine. We shall permit the National Executive Committee Socialist Party (Chicago, Jan. 21, 1919) to pronounce the final word in proof that Socialism in its latest development — Bolshevism — is the ripest fruit upon that tree of rebellion against Almighty God that has yet been plucked for the destruction of mankind. Surely it is directed by Anti-Christ. *"The*

Soviet government of Russia is so far the greatest achievement in the establishment of working class government in the history of the world."

VIII

THE POPE AND THE WAR

OUT from the sacrilege and thunders of the world war the much maligned "Black International" — the Catholic Church — comes unblemished and unbroken. Even now ere the clash of arms is heard no more, ere the wounds of battle are healed, ere homes are rebuilded or devastated lands restored to fertility, long, long before the hatred that strife engendered shall have passed away, all impartial minds shall have accorded the honor due to the Bishop of Rome as the one power on earth that with Christ-like singleness of purpose has labored impartially, benevolently, faithfully and charitably to serve mankind all the while endeavoring to get the warring nations to turn their swords into plowshares. The enemy too has been ever active, ever alert to twist the words and deeds of the Pope against the Pope; ever trying to win his spiritual children on either side of the line of battle from their allegiance to God with the pretense that the Church is a stumbling block in the path of universal peace and social progress. Not alone were the Socialists in their assault upon the integrity of Christ's Vicar, but it is with this advance guard of his Satanic Majesty that we have now to do. As ever, in its battle with sin, the Pastor of Chistendom

has kept the Bark of Peter to the course that Christ our Lord intended.

The war came while Pius X was in the Papal Chair. His appeal to Emperor Francis Joseph to avert the clash of arms went unheeded, and the "Peasant Pope" died thanking God for calling him from the horror that he knew would follow the declaration of war. It was in God's good providence that this Pontiff, amongst the greatest, had prepared his children by "Restoring all things in Christ" for a severe test upon their faith.

Upon the elevation of Benedict XV to the papal throne came an appeal from His Holiness to the conscience and reason of those who direct the affairs of nations:

"We earnestly beg and implore them even now to turn their thoughts to the laying aside of their quarrels for the sake of the preservation of human society. Let them reflect that there is already too much of misery and grief linked with this mortal life, so that it should not be made still more wretched and sorrowful. Let them agree that already enough of ruin has been caused, enough of human blood has been shed. Let them hasten to open peace negotiations and join hands again. Thus will they gain from God glorious rewards for themselves and each one for his people; they will do the highest service to the cause of human civilization; and as for Ourselves, who in assuming this Apostolic office have to face the gravest difficulties arising from so seriously disturbed a state of affairs — let them know that they will thus do what is most pleasing and most highly desired by Us." (Sept. 8, 1914.)

Alas, the world knows that this call from God also went unheeded! In November, 1914, Pope Benedict

issued a memorable Encyclical laying down the four fundamental causes of war, while imploring the belligerent nations to lay down their arms and adjust their rival claims by Christian principles. But like Pharaoh they would not listen to God's call and sent their legions into a sea of blood to perish.

It remains for the historian properly to chronicle the many great works of the Pope during those four years of terrific warfare; the counsels and consolations given; the protests and appeals issued, the marvelous benefits given without distinction, religious, national or personal. It is to His Holiness that the world is indebted for the humane repatriation of the non-combatants interned in belligerent countries. We have a record of 97,753 French interned in Germany and Austria, and 10,581 Germans, 3,105 Austrians interned in the countries of the Allies who were returned to the bosom of their families in their native land from Oct., 1914, to March, 1916, through the good offices of the Pope. The exchange of prisoners unfit for military service, the transfer of wounded soldiers to neutral territory — Switzerland; the lightening of the burden of the prisoners in Germany; the ranking as officers of Belgian and French priests captured by the Central Powers; the observance of Sunday as a day of rest for all prisoners,— all these good measures go to the credit of the Holy See. By instituting bureaus of information at the Vatican, Vienna, Freiburg, Paderhorn and other places wounded and missing men were traced. The prisoners were put into communication with their relatives, so God alone knows

the heart's-ease given to thousands of fathers, mothers, wives and sweethearts all over the world. Out of a purse greatly reduced because of the war, the Pope supplied the needs of many sufferers in Belgium, Poland, Serbia, Lithuania, Armenia and other countries. It was the Pope's appeals and strictures that gave pause to the destruction of world monuments and art treasures; greater still was the service of checking deportations and some of the drastic methods of warfare that shocked the sensibilities of mankind. Prospective benefits vastly greater were within reach of nations. If they had accepted the four fundamental principles for adjusting their differences there should have been a popular recognition that the Pope's rank is of supreme power for good in our wicked world. As it is the response to the overtures of His Holiness has been something of a surprise. Millions of folk who heretofore had no glance of approval for the work of the Church, have turned to give a steady look at the Pope as he spoke boldly and worked gladly for afflicted peoples in lands reddened with blood and stripped with fire and sword. Acknowledgments have come from governments, priests, persons of rank and from private individuals expressing heartfelt gratitude for the Christlike service rendered by Pope Benedict XV.

The most hopeful sign for world freedom is the return of envoys to the Vatican. Fifteen nations who ignored and neglected this opportunity to secure a juster reign through the world have now accredited ministers to the Court of Pope Benedict XV, Great Britain being one

of them. In illustration of the appreciation of the war work done we present an excerpt from the letter of Sir Henry Howard, Minister of Great Britain at the Vatican, presented to Cardinal Gasparri, papal secretary of state, in the name of the English Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey, to His Holiness Pope Benedict XV:

"Having made known to the German government our acceptance of the proposition for the reciprocal transport of invalid prisoners of war, the Government of His Britannic Majesty wishes to express to the Holy See its most lively gratitude for presenting this project. It was inspired by the grand humanitarian principles of which His Holiness has given so many proofs during the war and the Government of Great Britain is convinced that the action so happily accomplished by the Holy Father will be fruitful in benefits to the numerous British prisoners of war. In renewing the assurance of my highest consideration I desire to express to your Eminence my sincere gratitude and that of my Government for the unwearied good will you have manifested in the affair."

If only the faithful were able to create a world opinion strong enough in justice to compel governments to accept the one path to ordered liberty, the apex of civilization could be reached. Yet, although rulers could not bring themselves to accept the necessary basis of freedom — the Holy Father's Peace Proposal — President Wilson, declining to think it would "lead to the goal he proposes," recognized it as high in motive:

"Every heart that has not been blinded and hardened by this terrible war must be touched by this moving appeal of

His Holiness, the Pope, must feel the dignity and power of the humane and generous motives which prompted it, and must fervently wish that he might take the path of peace he so persuasively points out."

One thing should be certain as the outcome of this war: that only persons of crass ignorance of bad-will shall, in our day and generation, question the civic integrity of those who acknowledge the Pope as their infallible guide in faith and morals. Every country has been given the proof that obedience to the Pope is a guarantee of loyalty to one's fatherland by Catholics: that a divided allegiance is foreign to Catholic doctrine. Truly may we point with pride to the 111,000,000 Catholics who were in the countries of the Allies and their associate and to the 57,000,000 who were in the countries of the Central Empires. We may with a full patriotic heart exclaim with His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell:

"The Catholic civil allegiance divided? Why look across the sea, to where all Europe is in arms. Every Catholic is fighting loyally, giving his very life for his own country. And though some of these countries have merited little gratitude from any Catholic, still the very priests are in the trenches, each a defender of his native land. Where I ask of any honest witness of these facts under his very eyes, where is this divided allegiance? And the Pope — is there any one in this country who, after this war, will ever dare to accuse the Pope of interference in civil affairs or of weakening the loyalty of citizens?"

Civic loyalty is no twentieth-century principle; to the

faithful it is bred in the bone. Followers of Christ are well instructed in the one principle that separates Church and State: Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and Him only shalt thou serve; Thou shalt render to Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar and to God what belongs to God. By a great and well beloved Doctor of the Church — St. Augustine — the matter has been illumined by an historic event:

"Sometimes the powerful ones of earth are good and fear God; at times they fear him not. Julian was an Emperor unfaithful to God, an apostate, a pervert, an idolator. Christian soldiers served this faithful emperor, but as soon as there was question of the cause of Jesus Christ they recognized only Him who is in heaven. Julian commanded them to honor idols and offer them incense but they put God above the prince. However, when he made them form into ranks and march against a hostile nation, they obeyed instantly. They distinguished the eternal from the temporal master and still in view of an eternal Master they submitted to such a temporal master."

That there are those who will not see, is as certain as that the facts are before all eyes, that both Pope and people obeyed at once the law of God and of Cæsar during the prolonged agonies of the war. Bolshevists need no instruction as to the strong defense against the spread of their propaganda and they use their devil-craft skilfully. With a mask of blameless innocence they ask why the Church does not interfere with matters of state and stop the war? With the next breath they charge that the Pope is usurping the rights of the state,— that

listening to Rome is treason to one's country. That scourge of letters — George Bernard Shaw — tells the Pope just what His Holiness should have done:

"The Pope's clear duty last August was to excommunicate all combatants with bell, book and candle and tell them with a voice thundering through Christendom that they would all most certainly be damned for the sin of Cain unless they laid down their arms and submitted their dispute to the judgment of God through His Church."

This glib joke is all of one piece with Shaw's most brilliant literary efforts to send human souls to their doom along with the battleships upon which he would have workmen practise sabotage. It is only a vulgar bit of advertising to keep himself and his wares in the limelight, per order of his master — Rebellion. For attacks no less vicious in that they are cast in serious form one may look to George D. Herron for a classical example. In his *Menace of Peace* (N. Y. 1917, p. 84) this father of the Rand School enters into an elegant disquisition against the Pope. His Holiness is forwardly admonished for having missed the one golden and commanding opportunity in centuries for proving the disinterestedness of the Father of Christendom for the children of earth. Ah! occasion did not serve: The Pope was already engaged by an "*unwritten understanding*" (in the precious keeping of this betrayer of the marriage bond, this purveyor of scandal) with the Central Powers to defeat Italy for the hope of regaining the temporal power of the Papacy. Again the

Pope's effort to bring the several nations to a consideration of those basic principles upon which a just and enduring peace may rest is called a German peace proposal. The cause of this alleged deed and double-dyed villainy at the Vatican is, forsooth, its knowledge that *"if autocracy perishes in Germany, it will perish from the world."* Dr. Herron wrote from Geneva but Pope baiting is all the same in New York. Louis C. Fraina, the sometime associate of Trotsky while in America, subtracts greatly from the well known fact,— that a glance at our own country shows to every honest searcher after truth, that the freer the democracy of the government the more the church flourishes. Mr. Fraina delivers himself of ignorance or malice or a combination of mental darkness, thusly in the *New Review* (N. Y., Sep. 15, 1915):

"The Pope of Rome, by tradition and sympathy, is friendly to Austria and Germany. Their form of government appeals to his medieval conception of society, and his hatred of anti-clerical Italy and France is a necessity of Vatican politics. His conduct during the war has been distinctly pro-German, and any definite peace move he might make would be on behalf of Austria and Germany."

If there were no such thing as vindictiveness one might believe these radicals to be capable of knowing a democracy when it is so perfectly exemplified in the Catholic Church, where every member is exactly equal in honor when receiving the Sacraments instituted by our Blessed Lord Himself. Nowhere else in human

association is there an absolute equality in dignity. Our own equality before the law is based upon this innate dignity of the individual soul and this is in truth the ripe fruit of Christian culture established in civil government. Since to radical minds lawlessness is mistaken for law they are as certain that the Catholic Church is an autocracy as that Darwin proved man's animal origin, which is not true, and that Marx proved that religious, moral, psychical, social, political and idealogical phenomena is an evolution from man's economic activities in supplying himself with food, shelter and clothing, which is absurd. Of course their blind confidence that the Catholic Church is an autocracy does not change the nature of the institution within which the Holy Ghost resides that the Bride of Christ may never fall into human error.

True the Catholic Church does not derive her power from the people who are within her fold, neither in the last analysis is the American government an expression of the will of its citizens. It is rather a fitting expression of the human constitution set forth in the Decalogue. Since all men are endowed with certain inalienable rights we religiously boast that our government is one of laws not of men. Thus it is that the test of government comes, early or late, upon the one criterion — obedience to the natural law given by God. The whole history of the world freely tells the tale that injustice is the fruitful and the rightful cause of discontent and revolt — against the usurpation by the few of the rights of the many, so that men of good will have tolerated bad gov-

ernment only so long as they were powerless to effect a cure.

Within the Catholic Church — wherein the promise of our Blessed Lord abides,— that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her life to the end of the world — no men of good will are discontented with her government. The seven Sacraments are perfectly administered and perfectly suited to all persons of all climes, of all times without regard to condition, race, color, or class. Born of whatsoever people, of whatsoever station in life, once elevated to the See of Peter, the Supreme Pastor of God's people is perfectly guarded and infallibly guided by the Holy Ghost.

Like to every wicked prophecy that the downfall of the Papacy is at hand so also has this latest fallen — the German autocracy has been overthrown and the Pope is doing what our Lord intended: His Vicar is showing the people the way, the truth and the light.

Pope and Belgium

The law of Christ that the Pope executes on earth commands that impartiality and charity shall mark relations between the Vatican and nations, but naturally it is quite impossible for those who hold the doctrine, that *truth* is an attitude of mind, to conceive of the dignity and responsibility of the Holy Father's position. Socialists may jump to conclusions and issue condemnations without evidence as to the relative innocence or guilt of conflicting governments. Their 100 per cent good or their 100 per cent bad is determined

by the pronouncement of the Stuttgart Congress to-day or the Emergency Convention to-morrow — it all depends upon the opportunity, as presented to their imagination, of what will advance *the Revolution.* Be it an arbitrary decision, in disobedience to God's commands or treason to Cæsar, to cause civil war as a means to their end — the overthrow of the use of private capital — it is as acceptable as a May morning.

During the war the Bolsheviki condemned the Pope's attitude towards Belgium, when King Albert and Cardinal Mercier expressed not alone complete satisfaction but reverent gratitude towards His Holiness not a word did they say to correct their error. However, the thought of their having contrition for the sin of slander were utterly superfluous.

Not before, but after the German Chancellor himself declared that " an injustice " had been committed by his government by the invasion of Belgium (though the act was justified as a war necessity in defense of the empire) did the Pope raise his voice in protest, thus teaching the world that injustice has no justification. That the Pope was the one and only ruler to protest against the invasion of Belgium is a most significant historic fact. Neither Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland or Spain uttered a word, and to our shame Washington remained silent when the example of our great nation could have enforced the moral that might is not right.

Surely the world may accept King Albert's statement at its full value and all but wilful clamor should be

silenced by his words. We quote from the King's reply to the Pope's peace proposal (Jan. 2, 1918):

"At the outset of his message the Holy Father took pains to declare he had forced himself to maintain perfect impartiality toward all the belligerents, which renders more significant the judgment of his Holiness when he concluded in favor of the total evacuation of Belgium and the reestablishment of its full independence, and also recognized the right of Belgium for reparation for damages and the cost of the war. Already in his consistorial allocution of January 22, 1915, the Holy Father had proclaimed before the world that he reproved injustice, and he condescended to give the Belgian Government the assurance that in formulating that reprobation it was the invasion of Belgium he had directly in veiw."

When to this official utterance of Belgium's king of his gratitude to the Pope we add the words of Cardinal Mercier, taken from his Christmas Pastoral (1914), honest men may weep because of the beauty of holiness seen in Belgium's well beloved Patriot-Cardinal. Under God, it so chanced that the Cardinal was in Rome at the elevation of Benedict XV to the papal throne, just after the declaration of war, we quote:

"With a touching goodness our Holy Father Benedict XV has been the first to incline his heart to us. When, a few moments after his election, he deigned to take me in his arms, I was bold enough there to ask that the first Pontifical Benediction he spoke should be given to Belgium, already in deep distress through the war. He eagerly closed with my wish, which I knew would also be yours."

Again, in a pastoral (April 25, 1915) Cardinal Mercier makes an explicit defense of the Pope against the ignominy that such men as Herron and Fraina would put upon the Shepherd of the Christian flock:

"From the beginning of the war certain cunning, evil, and treacherous minds have persisted in encouraging the rumor that the late Pope, Pius X, and our Holy Father Benedict XV, gave help and moral approval to our enemies, and, through weakness, did an injustice to the rights of the Belgian people. These are calumnies, my Brethren — nothing but infamous calumnies. The simple, loving, generous heart of Pius X was incapable, I will not say of any cowardice, but of so much as the appearance of an accommodation with injustice, even though it were triumphant. The truth is that the noble old man succumbed to the grief that overcame him, when he saw the European nations rent by murderous war, and Providence left him no time to express in public the holy horror these orgies of blood inspired in him.

"As for our Holy Father, Pope Benedict XV, what could he do for the Belgians that he had not done? His very first Pontifical blessing was for us, and he charged me to bring it to you in his name. On two occasions he was good enough to send generous donations to Belgium, in spite of the poverty of his resources. In his fatherly goodness he addressed to us two letters of consolation designed for you. Add to this his resolute and noble Consistorial Allocution of the 22nd of January; his answers to the telegrams of the King and the Government; that to M. Van den Heuvel; the support he afforded us through his Apostolic Nuncio in Brussels . . ."

Since Cardinal Mercier gives praise to the "fatherly goodness" of the Pope towards Belgium, Catholics in all the nations on both sides of the conflict are in admira-

tion of His Holiness for being at once strictly impartial as between nation and nation and responding to the claims of justice as between nation and nation. Every good father understands this principle for thus it is that he means to deal with his sons.

The Pope and Italy

The assertion that the Pope had an "unwritten understanding" with the Central Powers conniving at the defeat of Italy for the restoration of the temporal power, is as far from the truth as the story of the Pope's hostility towards Belgium; only those utterly lacking in the knowledge of the integrity of the Papacy or those playing high stakes with the devil for world power would be guilty of the accusation. Of course, every Catholic worthy of that great title believes in the restoration of the temporal power of the Holy See. To this no true patriot of any nation under the sun can rightfully object, since by temporal power is meant that the Pope should be free from the temporal rule of another. Territory all his own is necessary so that the Pope may rule over his spiritual kingdom in the whole world undisturbed. Just as Washington, D. C., our Federal territory is independent of the jurisdiction of any State and so free from the jurisdiction of our 48 States, just so in idea is it that the spiritual government of the Pope should be territorially free from the restrictions of any nation. The war has made the necessity for papal freedom plain to many persons who had not seen it before.

While the Law of Guarantees affirms that Ambassadors of foreign nations at the Vatican shall have the same rights and immunities as the representatives of foreign powers at the Quirinal this is not enough. It is not that our Federal Government at Washington, D. C., has the same rights as Maine, Virginia and California but rather that Washington is independent of the right of these and all others of the 48 States in the administration of our Federal powers. During the war the Ambassadors of the Central Empires withdrew from the Court of the Pope, not because Italy demanded it but as they believed "in order to safeguard their personal dignity and the prerogatives of their office." Upon the withdrawal of these envoys from the Vatican Benedict XV pointed out the injustice of the Pope's position:

"This means to the Holy See the loss of a right which is its due, and of its nature belongs to it as a necessary guarantee of its freedom. . . . And what are We to say of the increasing difficulty of communication between Us and the Catholic world, through which it has become no easy matter to form that complete and accurate judgment on events which is of such importance?" (Allocution, Dec. 6, 1915.)

While the cabal — resting upon the "unwritten understanding" — was at its height the Italian government itself may certainly be trusted to estimate adequately the status of Catholic loyalty in its kingdom. The Prime Minister in the Chamber of Deputies on the 24th of December, 1917, bespoke the public opinion of Italy in no uncertain tones:

"I deplore the accusations of a general character made against high ecclesiastical personages — accusations that tend to hurt the supreme spiritual authority — against priests and against the Catholic laity. Such accusations are unjust and offensive because, as the public are aware, the Italian clergy, both high and low, have given noble and beautiful proofs of Italian sentiments, and the great mass of the Catholics have known how to reconcile the dictates of faith with their duties toward their country."

It should not be thought that there was a change of heart on the part of the Bolsheviki, even in Italy. There was merely a change of attack upon right and justice. Indeed the Socialism in Italy is of the extreme left wing type, where treason is accounted heroism. Beyond any treasonable acts we have thus far recorded the Italians have carried out the counsel of the Stuttgart International Socialist Congress of 1907. After the Italian disaster at Caporetto (Oct.–Nov., 1917) the Bolsheviki attempted to lay at the door of the priests in the army the breaking down of the morale of the troops for which they, themselves, were responsible. They were confronted with the evidence of their treason by Deputy Marquis Centurione. He had been accused by the Socialists in the Chamber of Deputies for spying upon them.

We quote from Deputy Centurione's reply:

"Yes, it is true I spied on the Socialists, being convinced that the responsibility for the Caporetto disaster rested upon them, and that they also incited the Turin riots. I disguised myself as a workingman in order to attend Socialist meetings. As the result of my work I can now state that

the Socialists did prepare the Caporetto disaster. Consequently I formally charge with treason ex-Premier Giolitti, Deputy Falcioni, Under-Secretary in the last Giolitti Cabinet; Socialist Deputies Sciorati, and Dogiovanni, Deputy Chiaraviglio [Giolitti's son-in-law], and Senator Panizzardi, Senator Cofaly, and Senator Frassati."

However, there is testimony as strong from the Socialists themselves that they are responsible for breaking down the morale of the troops at Caporetto. We instance the boasting of Arturo Giovannitti before 600 college men and women at the Annual Convention of the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society:

"The retreat of the Austrians in 1918 occurred just a year following the retreat of the Italians. On the former occasion, everything had been prepared on the Italian and Austrian lines for a joint strike of the soldiers. However, shock troops had the night before the proposed strike been substituted for the Austrian troops in the Austrian lines and when the Italian troops laid down their arms they were confronted with the aggressive shock troops of the Kaiser." (The *Inter-Collegiate Socialist,* N. Y., Feb.–Mar., 1919, p. 25.)

As thoughtful men scan the horizon of life and look back over the testimony of nations past and gone, they see that loyalty to country rests securely upon the justice of the State: that human justice is a basic manifestation of love for and obedience to Almighty God. So that it is plain enough that as religious teaching and practise are the sure guarantee of the safety of nations, the most deadly assault upon the country is that first

leveled upon religion. What then but all hail to the Pope should be expected from those who love and would serve their native land?

"Long live the Pope! His praises sound
Again and yet again:
His rule is over space and time;
His throne the hearts of men:
All hail! the Shepherd King of Rome,
The theme of loving song:
Let all the earth his glory sing,
And heav'n the strain prolong."

All to the contrary, notwithstanding, from the beginning of the world-war until the signing of the Armistice, the Pope with more than royal dignity has treated all the nations and all the races of whatsoever religions or political views more impartially than the best of fathers are able to treat their own sons, for the sufficient reason that the Holy Ghost abides within the Church. While upon the call of the Holy Father, millions of petitions to Almighty God in favor of justice at the Peace Congress was sent up by the faithful all over the world:

". . . in order that the fruit of the approaching congress may be that great gift from heaven, which is true peace founded upon the Christian principles of justice, it will be your care to announce public prayers in each parish of your respective dioceses in that form which you will consider timely, to implore for it the light of the Heavenly Father.

"As far as We, Ourselves, are concerned, representing, however unworthily, Jesus Christ, the King of Peace, We

shall use all the influence of Our apostolic ministry so that the decisions that may be arrived at for the purpose of perpetuating tranquillity, good order and concord in the world may be accepted and faithfully followed everywhere by Catholics." (Dec. 1, 1918.)

Catholics everywhere will follow the instruction of their Spiritual father, working faithfully and praying ardently for peace on earth. They know that there is no otherwhere to go save to Rome, to the Pope, to Christ's Vicar, to learn how precisely to apply God's law to every-day affairs. There on the throne of the fisherman is found the divine interpretation of the law of justice as it applies to the relations of nation to nation: There is made known what things belong to God and what things belong to Cæsar.

If forgetful of the love of God in the love of country, one may well take heed:

Unless the Lord build the house,
They labor in vain that build it.

THE END

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